YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME 54

1982

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

CLAREMONT, CLARENDON ROAD
LEEDS, LS2 9NZ
Telephone 457910

Founded
1863

Incorporated
1893

Patrons

The Most Reverend the LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
The Most Reverend and Rt. Hon. the LORD COGGAN, M.A., D.D
The MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, C.B.E., D.C.L.
The EARL OF SCARBROUGH, D.L., M.A.
The LORD TRANMIRE, P.C., K.B.E., M.C., D.L.
Sir WILLIAM BULMER
Brigadier K. HARGREAVES, C.B.E., T.D., LL.D.
G. F. YOUNG, Esq., C.B.E., J.P., LL.D.

President

H. G. RAMM, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

E. A. GEE, M.A., D.PHIL., F.S.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.
G. C. F. FORSTER, F.A., F.S.A., F.R.HIST. SOC.

Vice-Presidents

Mrs. P. STANLEY PRICE, M.A., F.S.A.
P. O. WALKER, M.A., LL.B.
G. HINCHLIFFE, M.A.

Council

ALEXANDER, Mrs. A. E. B.A. *(Leeds)*
ARUNDEL, Mrs. D. *(Leeds)*
BERESFORD, M. W. M.A. *(Leeds)*
BLACK, D. W. B.A., F.S.A. *(Appleton Roebuck)*
BROWN, T. H. L.D.S., HON. F.H.S. *(Middlesbrough)*
CASPERSON, F. P. B.A., F.C.I.I. *(Leeds)*
COOPER, W. L. *(Leeds)*
DARLOW, G. S. M.A., A.L.A. *(Leeds)*
FRENCH, T. W. M.A., F.S.A. *(York)*
HARWOOD LONG, W. M.A. *(Leeds)*
HOWARD, R. S. *(Leeds)*
HOYLE, R. W. B.A. *(Keighley)*
KING, A. B.SC., M.A. *(Settle)*
KNOWLES, R. *(Wakefield)*
MANCHESTER, K. M.B., B.S., B.SC. *(Bradford)*
MAYES, P. B.A., F.S.A. *(Leeds)*
MIRSKY, N. *(Shipley)*
NUTTALL, Mrs. B. B.SC. *(Leeds)*
PICKLES, Mrs. M. F. *(Ilkley)*
RAHTZ, P. A. M.A., F.S.A. *(York)*
SLATCHER, W. N. M.A., M.SC., PH.D. *(Wakefield)*
SPEAK, H. F.R.G.S., L.C.P. *(Wakefield)*
WAIGHT, E. C. *(Harrogate)*
WORDINGHAM, Miss L., B.S.C. *(Leeds)*

All Honorary Officers, Hon. Secretaries of Committees and of Sections, Representatives of Group and Affiliated Societies, the Librarian and Inventory Officer are *ex officio* members of the Council.

Honorary Secretary: P. B. DAVIDSON, M.A., Grafton Manor, Grafton, York.
Honorary Treasurer: D. H. T. BROOKE, Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
Honorary Editor: R. M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). The White House, Clifton, York YO3 6AE.
Hon. Secretary, Record Series: Dr. C. CROSS, Dept. of History, University of York, Heslington, York.
Hon. Secretary, Parish Register Section: D. J. H. MICHELMORE, B.A., M.PHIL., Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
Hon. Secretary, Wakefield Court Rolls Section: K. EMSLEY, M.A., LL.B., 34 Nab Wood Drive, Shipley, West Yorkshire.
Hon. Lectures Secretary: Dr. D. A. SPRATT, M.A., F.S.A., 13, The Vale, Skelton, York.
Hon. Secretary, Ancient Monuments: Mrs. HARTLEY, R. 6, Margaret Road, Harrogate.
Hon. Secretary, Historic Buildings: L. A. S. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A. 89 Otley Old Road, Leeds LS16 9HG.
Hon. Excursions Secretary: E. C. WAIGHT, 49 Leadhall Lane, Harrogate, HG2 9NJ.
Hon. Publicity Secretary: Mrs. B. A. PAYNE, 4, Woodland Croft, Horsforth, Leeds.
Hon. Membership Secretary: Mrs. L. ELPHICK, Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
Hon. Publications Secretary: R. PRICE, 4, Maple Terrace, Yeadon, Leeds 19.
Hon. Students' Warden (joint): Mr. and Mrs. R. S. HOWARD, 28 Crofton Rise, Leeds LS17 8LE.
Hon. Inventory Officer: F. P. CASPERSON, B.A., F.C.I.I., 2, Wynford Rise, Leeds.
Librarian: Miss P. J. CAMPION, B.A., Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
Archivist: Mrs. S. THOMAS, M.A., Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds.

Hon. Secretaries of Sections:

Prehistory Research Section—T. G. MANBY, M.A., Museum and Art Gallery, Chequer Road, Doncaster.
Roman Antiques Section—J. M. YOUNGE, M.A., 9 Redbank Drive, Ripon.
Medieval Section—Mrs. K. M. HALL, 3 Willow Court, Pool, Near Otley, West Yorkshire.
Georgian Section—Mr. and Mrs. P. M. TEALE, 164 Nursery Lane, Leeds LS17 7AQ.
Local History Study Section—Mrs. J. FORRESTER, 199 Kingsway, Osset, Wakefield.
Industrial History Section—Mrs. N. M. COOPER, 307 Spen Lane, Leeds 16.
Family History and Population Studies Section—Mrs. B. M. SCOTT, 60 High Street, Boston Spa, West Yorks. LS23 6EA.

Representatives of Groups and Affiliated Societies

Forest of Galtres Society—G. R. DRAKE.
Pontefract and District Archaeological Society—Mrs. P. WIGGLESWORTH.
Huddersfield and District Archaeological Society—W. E. CROSLAND, B.CH.D., L.D.S.
Olicana Museum and Historical Society—Mrs. E. A. GREENWOOD.
Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society—D. A. BRINKLOW, M.A.
Doncaster Group—S. A. EASTWOOD.
Harrogate Group—Miss D. ROBERTS
Victorian Society—Mrs. D. PAYNE.

THE
YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL

A REVIEW
OF HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES AND TOPOGRAPHY IN THE COUNTY
PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE
YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME 54
FOR THE YEAR
1982

ISSN 0084-4276

© THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY 1982

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
ARTHUR WIGLEY & SONS LTD., LEEDS

The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of the authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME 54

page

EXCAVATION OF THE STREET HOUSE FARM LONG CAIRN, BOULBY, CLEVELAND . 1
RICHARD C. BARCHAM

EXCAVATION AT THE CURSUS AT SCORTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE, 1978 7
PETER TOPPING

TWO BRONZE AGE COLLARED URNS FROM THE HAMBLETON HILLS, NORTH YORKSHIRE 23
RAYMOND A. VARLEY

THE CLEAVE DYKE SYSTEM 33
D. A. SPRATT

THE MALTON BURNT GRAIN: A CAUTIONARY TALE 53
P. C. BUCKLAND

IRREGULAR VILLAGES IN HOLDERNESS, YORKSHIRE: SOME THOUGHTS ON THEIR ORIGIN 63
MARY HARVEY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIEVAL RIPON 73
WILLIAM MACKAY

NEW HALL, DARFIELD 81
J. BIRCH AND P. F. RYDER

HENRY JOHNSTON AND THE MISSING LADY OF GAWTHORPE HALL 99
PAULINE E. SHEPPARD ROUTH

HEDGEROWS IN WEST YORKSHIRE — THE HOOPER METHOD EXAMINED 103
JOHN HALL

SOME EVIDENCE OF SURVIVING OPEN FIELDS IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PENNINE DALES AND THE GRADUAL ELIMINATION OF COMMUNAL AGRICULTURE 111
ROGER FIELDHOUSE

YORKSHIRE AND THE AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION, 1730-1750 119
J. V. BECKETT

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CENSUS: WETHERBY 1776 125
ROBERT UNWIN

SOME NOTES ON THE SIZE OF FIELDS AFTER ENCLOSURE 141
W. HARWOOD LONG

OBITUARY: PROFESSOR JOHN LE PATOUREL, F.B.A. 149

ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND PLANNING: A REVIEW ARTICLE 153
PHILIP RAHTZ

BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES 157

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER: 1981 169

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Yorkshire Archaeological & Historical Society

https://archive.org/details/YAJ0541982

EXCAVATION OF THE STREET HOUSE FARM LONG CAIRN, BOULBY, CLEVELAND

an interim report

by RICHARD C. BARCHAM

The excavations described below were carried out in September and October 1979 by the archaeology section of Cleveland County Council's Leisure Services Division. This interim report is offered because the initial results of the excavations deserve inspection beyond their regional confines.

During the summer of 1979, a survey of the barrows of Cleveland was undertaken (Crawford 1980). These are all situated south of the River Tees and lie predominantly on the moorland terrain of the Cleveland Hills. Over 130 round barrows and round cairns were recorded in the survey. Many of the sites had escaped the scrutiny of earlier fieldworkers but a large number had been excavated in part by Canon J. C. Atkinson and Canon W. Greenwell in the nineteenth century and by W. Hornsby and J. A. Laverick in the first decades of the present century.

Two groups of sites which invited particular attention in Crawford's survey were in the south-east coast of Cleveland at Brotton and Boulby. Eighteen barrows were known to have existed here at the time of the First World War and some had been incompletely excavated (Hornsby & Laverick 1920). But, at the present day, only five of the Boulby group survive in recognisable form and all but one of these are regularly ploughed. The Brotton group has now completely disappeared and their site is marked only by an Ordnance Survey triangulation pillar.

In order to test some of the hypotheses generated by the barrow survey, several sites which were at risk were selected for excavation, including sites on the moorland and those along the Cleveland coast. It was assumed that all the barrows were of second millennium b.c. date, although the nearest comparable sites to yield a date were those at Ampleforth Moor, for which sixth century b.c. dates had been derived (Wainwright and Longworth 1967) and the curious composite funerary structure on Great Ayton Moor (Hayes 1967). This had produced one date of 990 ± 80 b.c., although some suspicion has been cast on this assay (Pierpoint 1979).

The coastal site at Street House Farm (Fig. 1a. NGR 736196) lies on exposed but fertile farmland 2km. north-east of the market town of Loftus on the very edge of the North York Moors National Park at 168m above sea level, although the moors proper are 6km. to the south. The chosen site (Pl. IA) was at first glance neither particularly extensive nor promising. Hornsby had excavated a round barrow 300m. to the south where he found fragments of a collared urn, a pygmy cup and an unidentified urn sherd. That there had been an excavation was known only from the account of the land-owner, Mr. W. Garbutt, for the site was completely ploughed out. The more northerly site was preserved as a gentle swelling in the line of a hawthorn hedgebank which was thought to conceal the profile of the mound as it had appeared when the fields were enclosed in the nineteenth century. This site seems to have lain quite unobserved, although it stood on a false crest above the barrow excavated by Hornsby. However, Crawford's attention had been drawn to it by Mr. Garbutt, who had in the past removed several cartloads of stone from an area to the south of the hedgebank. At the time of investigation this more southerly field was sown with grass and clover but it was due to be ploughed afresh

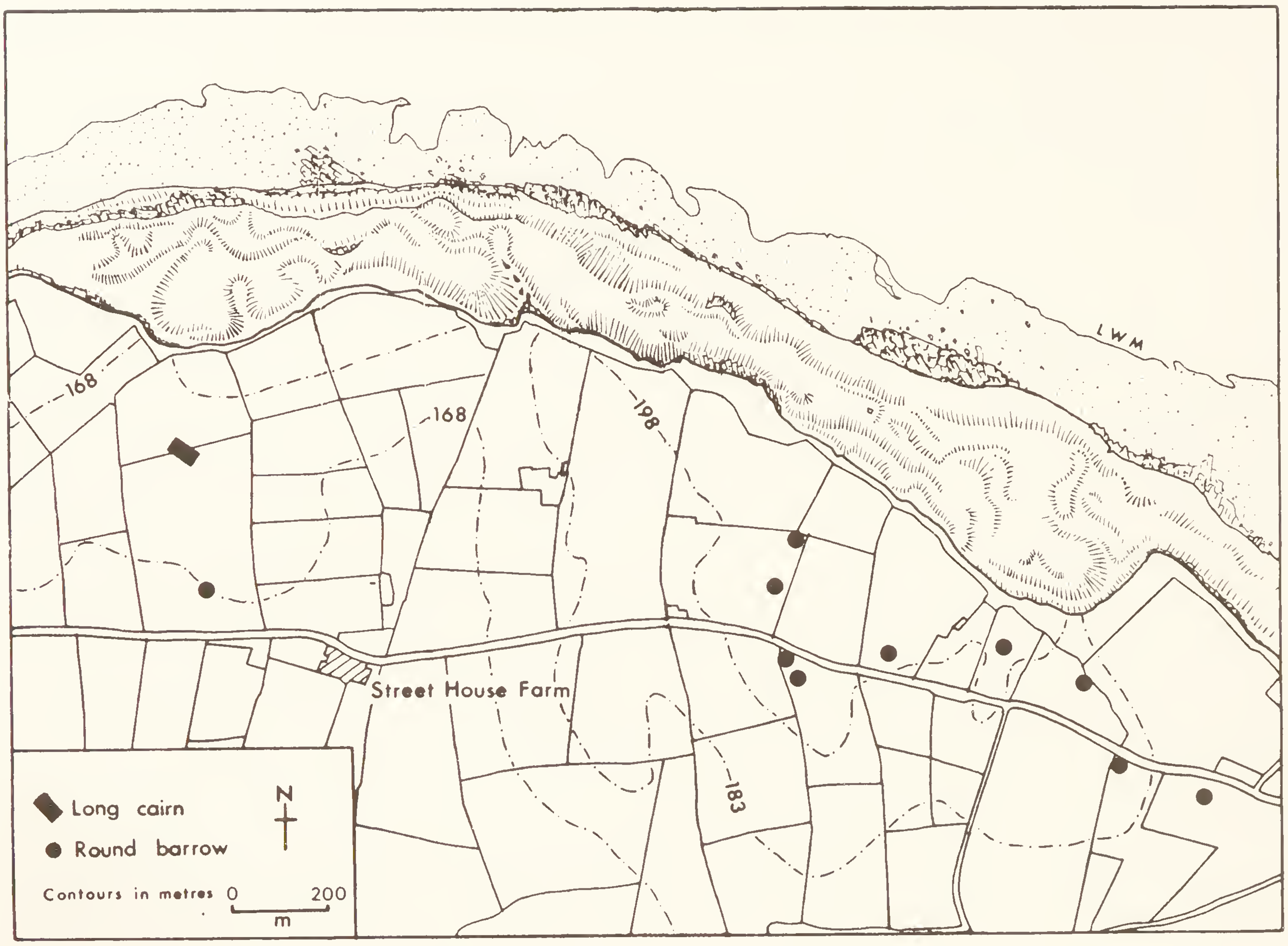
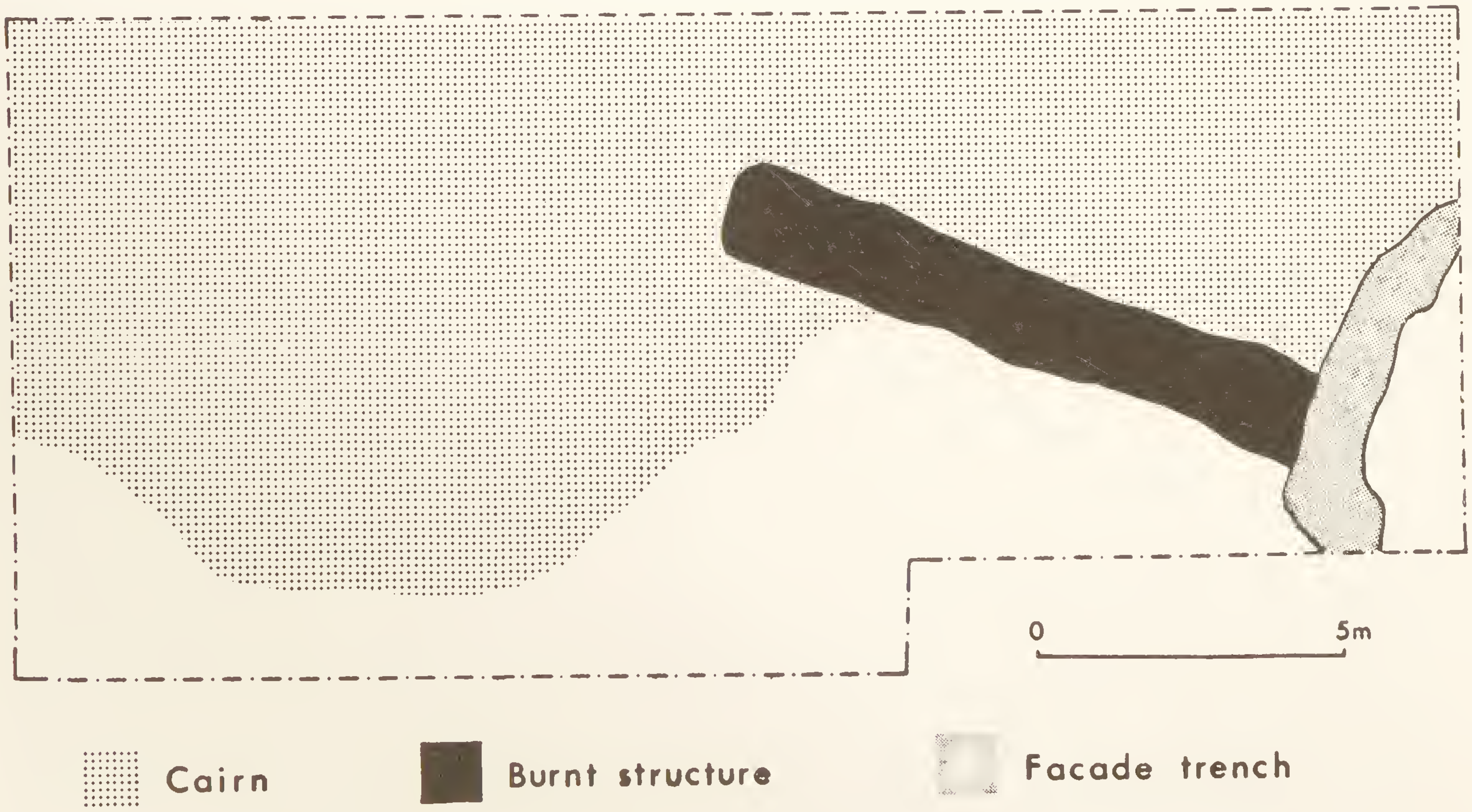


Fig. 1a Map Showing the location of the long cairn at Boulby and its relationship with neighbouring round barrows.



b Outline details of the cairn as excavated in 1979.

within a couple of years. On the other side of the hedgebank, the ground had only been tilled once since the end of the nineteenth century. This differential ploughing was responsible for a drop in height of about 750mm. between the two sides.

Before excavation, the barrow was thought to be approximately 24m. in diameter and it was naturally felt that conditions of preservation would be more favourable on the north, unploughed side. However, the pressure of time inspired a decision to concentrate on the south side of the bank, where the top soil was thinner, while leaving the north side, where a leaf-shaped arrow head had been found in the topsoil, for later investigation. Removal of the turf and a thin covering of topsoil on the south side revealed a broad and surprisingly dense scatter of stones. Many were scored by the plough but few seemed seriously disturbed.

On this south side, enough remained of the cairn to be able to define it as such, although its full outline has yet to be recovered. One part of the excavated area was remarkable for being free of large stones. Instead there was a quantity of loosely packed sandstone which was so fiercely burnt that it had broken down into a coarse sand; intermixed with this was some whitened bone. This was initially assumed to represent a later animal burial but further excavation exposed pieces of charcoal and fragments of bone, particularly of skull, which were recognisably human. In addition, most of the large field stones immediately contiguous to this area of burning were themselves burned on one side.

It was by now apparent that the site was no conventional round barrow or cairn. As the excavation proceeded, the outline of a concave stonefilled trench apeared at the east end of the area of burning. Moreover, once the limits of the area of burning were defined to reveal a rectangular depression measuring 9 by 1.5m, the similarity of plan (Fig. 1b) to those of the Neolithic long barrows and cairns of Yorkshire and Scotland was marked (Manby 1970, Masters 1973, Piggott 1974).

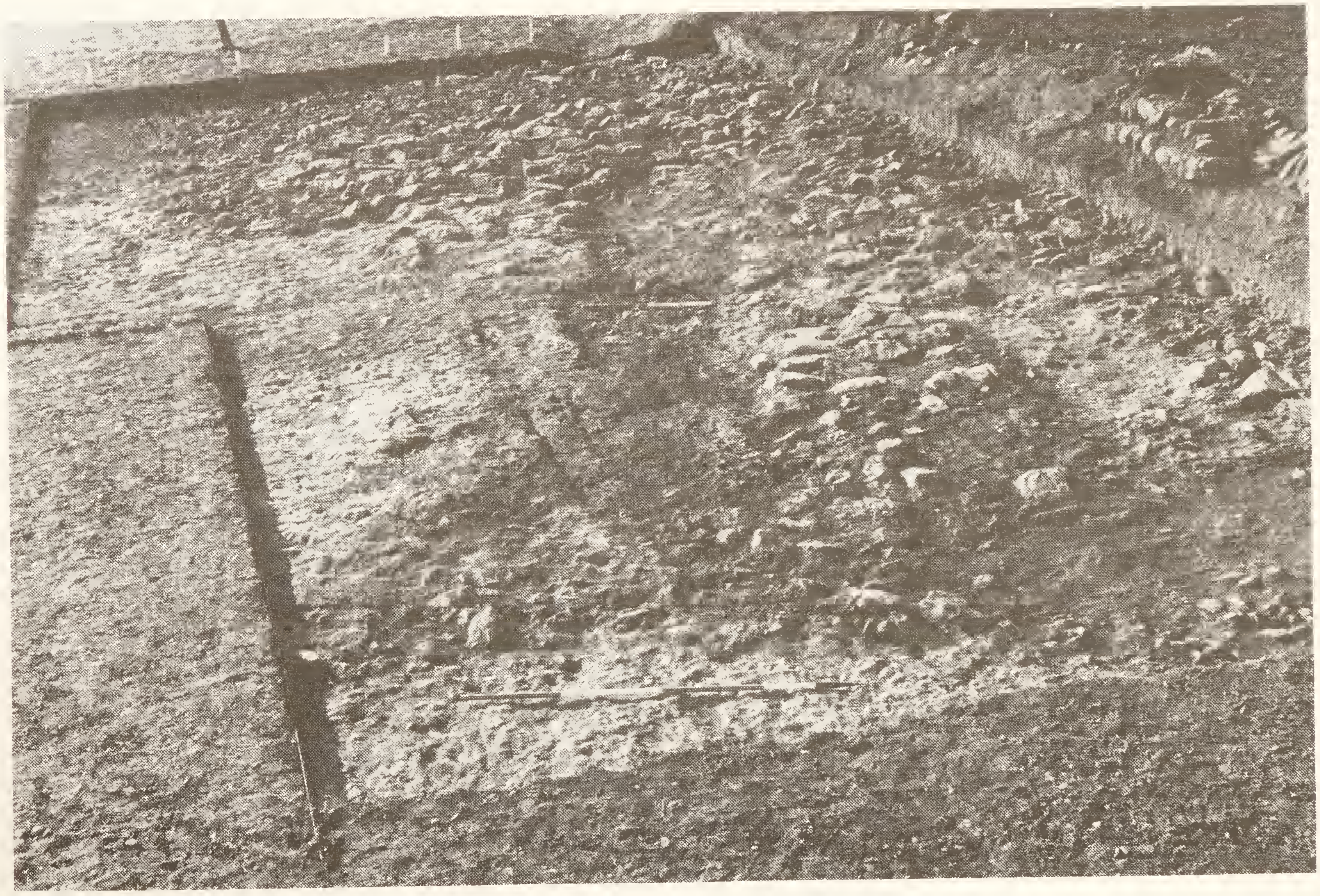
Continued excavation of what was now termed the 'mortuary deposit' revealed that the burnt stone was mixed with human bone and overlay a layer of charcoal and other burnt material, amongst which fragments of planking could be identified. The upper layer of burnt sandstone was removed to its maximum depth of 100mm. by the end of the first season of excavation. A considerable quantity of human bone was recovered from the feature and this is now being studied by Dr. David Birkitt, consultant pathologist at Middlesbrough General Hospital.

Without the completion of the excavation the sequence of mortuary activity cannot yet be fully elucidated. The basic mortuary structure (Pl IB) consisted of a trench edged with large stones, both sides of which were then incorporated into the basal layer of the later cairn. There are at least two or three post-holes or pits associated with the structure, one distal, one central and a less well defined disturbance at the proximal end; there may be more post-holes or pits within or adjacent to the concave facade trench which also remains to be fully excavated, but does not seem to have been burnt to any degree. The architectural and chronological relationships of features should become clearer when the area on the north side of the hedgbank has been examined.

Whether the burnt wood represents roof, wall, floor or part of a freestanding platform or cognate structure remains to be determined. The bone is comprehensively disarticulated to the point of comminution. Some was found adhering to the underside of the charcoal, but in some areas simple plough disturbance has played some part in post-depositional movement.

If the site is Neolithic, it can be regarded as the most northerly of the rather loosely defined class of Yorkshire long barrows (Manby 1970). Manby (ibid, fig. 1) shows 26 long barrows between the River Tees and the River Humber and east of the Pennines, of which all but five have suffered some excavation. The Street House Farm site represents

Plate I The site before excavation, viewed from the south.



II The mortuary deposit and area of cairn exposed during the first season of excavation.

the only authenticated structural evidence of neolithic settlement in the east Cleveland area, although the area has yielded several Neolithic stone axes on the edge of the uplands and in the Tees Valley (Spratt 1979). It remains to be seen whether or not the mound at Newton Mulgrave is of similar nature.

Of great interest is the wealth of material for dating: radiocarbon assays will be made on samples of the burnt wood. Burnt stone and clay samples have been collected by Ian Bailiff of Durham University for thermoluminescence dating and by Dr. Don Tarling of Newcastle University for work on archaeomagnetism.

The finds are few. In addition to the leaf-shaped arrowhead there is a small quantity of worked flint. Two pieces of worked flint and two undecorated sherds of pottery were recovered from the facade area.

Further work will be concentrated on the complete excavation of the mortuary fill and internal features of the mortuary structure and the facade trench and on the examination of the environs of the cairn to determine both the possible existence of a forecourt or enclosure, such as are known from some of the Yorkshire long barrows, and the full dimensions of the cairn. On the north side of the hedgebank, there exists a slight chance that the cairn is unusually well-preserved. On the other hand it is obvious that the remains of the mortuary structure on the south side would not have survived another ploughing.

The study of Neolithic mortuary practice reveals numerous inconsistencies which are not just the result of incompletely observed data; for example, in contrast with the situation at the majority of Yorkshire long barrows (Manby 1970), the mortuary structure at Street House Farm appears to have burned with equal vigour from one end to the other. The axial pits there, matched at many other sites, may not in every instance have held timbers. It should not be overlooked that several Neolithic round barrows cover cremation sites, cremated deposits and facades (Coles and Simpson 1965, Manby 1970). The material from Neolithic burial and cenotaph sites is in urgent need of fresh tabulation. Thereafter it can be submitted to more refined analysis.

REFERENCES

COLES, J. M. and SIMPSON, D. D. A. 1965 'The excavation of a neolithic round barrow at Pitnacree, Perthshire' *PSAS* XXI, 34-57.

CRAWFORD, G. M. 1980 *Bronze Age Burial Mounds in Cleveland* (Middlesbrough).

ELGEE, F. 1930 *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire* (Gloucester).

HAYES, R. F. 1967 *The Chambered Cairn and Adjacent Monuments on Great Ayton Moor,* Scarborough and District Arch. Soc. Research Report VII, 39-42 (Scarborough).

HORNSBY, W. and LAVERICK, J. D. 1920 'British Barrows Around Boulby' *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* XXV, 48-52.

MANBY, T. G. 1970 'Long Barrows of Northern England: structural and dating evidence' *Scots. Arch. Forum* I, 1-27.

MASTERS, L. J. 1973 'The Lochhill Long Cairn' *Antiquity* XLVII, 96-100.

PIERPOINT, S. 1979 'Three Radiocarbon dates for Yorkshire Prehistory' *Antiquity* LIII, 224-5.

PIGGOTT, S. 1974 'Excavation of the Dalladies long barrow, Fettercairn, Kincardineshire' *PSAS* CIV, 23-47.

SPRATT, D. A. 1979 The Prehistoric Era, in Spratt, D. A. (ed). *The Archaeology of Cleveland* (Middlesbrough) 7-16.

WAINWRIGHT, G. J. and LONGWORTH, I. H. 1969 'The excavation of a group of round barrows on Ampleforth Moor, Yorkshire' *Yorks. Arch. Journal XLII, 283-294.*

EXCAVATION AT THE CURSUS AT SCORTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE 1978

By PETER TOPPING

with reports by Caroline Whickham-Jones on the flaked stone assemblage; by Dr. K. Greene on the Roman pottery; and by Elaine Matheson on the environmental material

Summary: The Excavation of a section across the complete width of the cursus, now reduced to a cropmark, produced evidence from recut ditches of at least two major phases of use. The first was indicated by narrow, almost V-profiled ditches, which, having silted, were recut to a wide and shallow form. A low mound of indeterminate shape, possibly upcast from the ditches, was situated in the centre of the cursus; while a pit complete with a ramp was discovered as an external feature of the eastern ditch. A sampling strategy recovered a flaked stone assemblage of flint and chert, which included debris from knapping activities in addition to actual tools. In the area excavated no evidence was recovered for any recognisable form of domestic occupation of any period.

Introduction

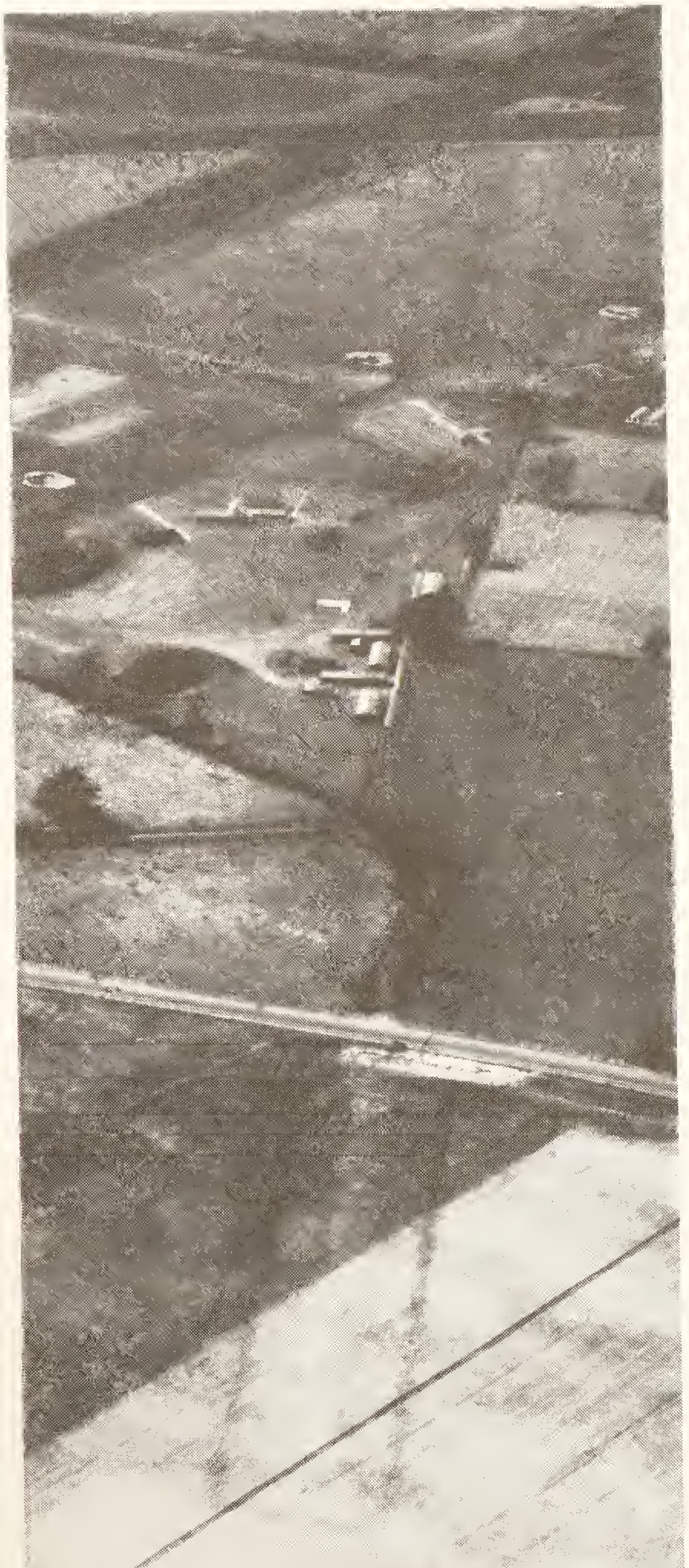
The excavation of a small area of Scorton cursus was undertaken in advance of gravel extraction (NZ 2334/0097). The area at risk had one of the few remaining sections of the monument, much of the rest of its length, approximately 2.1 kilometres, having previously been destroyed by the quarry. In the area where the excavation was to take place, the cursus did not appear on the available aerial photographs, but its existence was evident from a section exposed in the encroaching quarry. It was thought that hillwash had obscured the site at this point, thus increasing its insensitivity to aerial survey.

The excavations of 1978 were designed to establish whether the north-west terminal end of the cursus lay at this point. It was expected that this missing feature would follow the same form as the south-east terminal, which was sealed by a straight transverse ditch. Unfortunately the area that was available for excavation did not contain this feature which, if it exists, must lie further to the north-west on gradually rising ground.

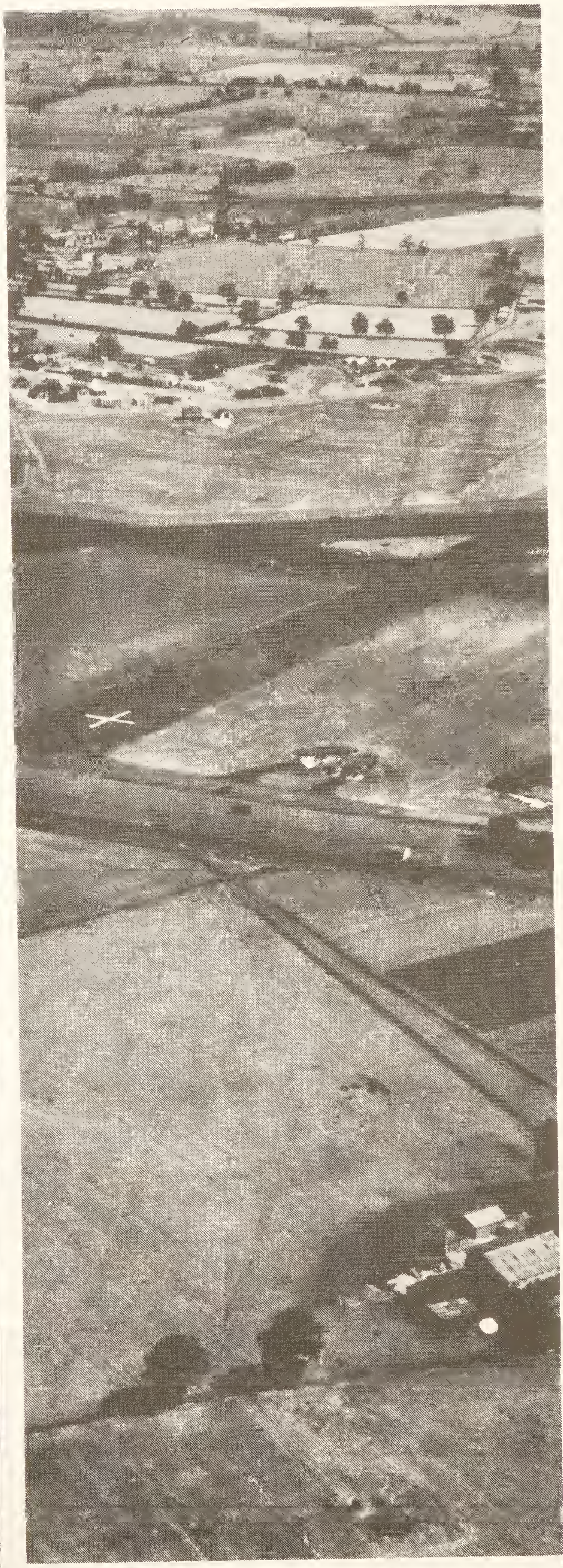
The site lies on the terraces of the old river gravels of the Swale, whose solid geology is represented by the sandstones and marls of the Triassic and Permian eras. The subsoil, of a cultivated Rendsina profile, was a medium sandy loam which contained a percentage of clay and silt matter. However, as the soil was of an aerobic nature, little evidence of plant, insect or animal remains survived.

Description of the Monument

The site was discovered by Prof. J. K. St. Joseph in 1949, and from his series of aerial photographs it was possible to trace the course of the cursus for approximately 2.1 kilometres. Evidence from soil stripping and the current excavations has shown that the monument extends even further to the north-west, the north-west terminal not as yet having been discovered. The south-western terminal, which shows clearly on the aerial photographs, consists of a straight transverse ditch which joins the two main ditches at right-angles. Clustering around it was a series of ring-ditch cropmarks. The aerial photographs also show a series of bleach marks between the ditches at the southern end of the cursus, which may represent a series of contiguous mounds. This area of the cursus also features what appears to be smaller outer ditches, although they may be restricted to the southern end of the cursus as they were absent in the excavated area.



View from SE terminal showing associated ring-ditch cropmarks. Outer ditches are apparent in this area in addition to a central bleached feature which may represent a series of contiguous mounds.



View looking from the NW towards the SE terminal end. *(Photos: Cambridge University Collection, copyright reserved).*

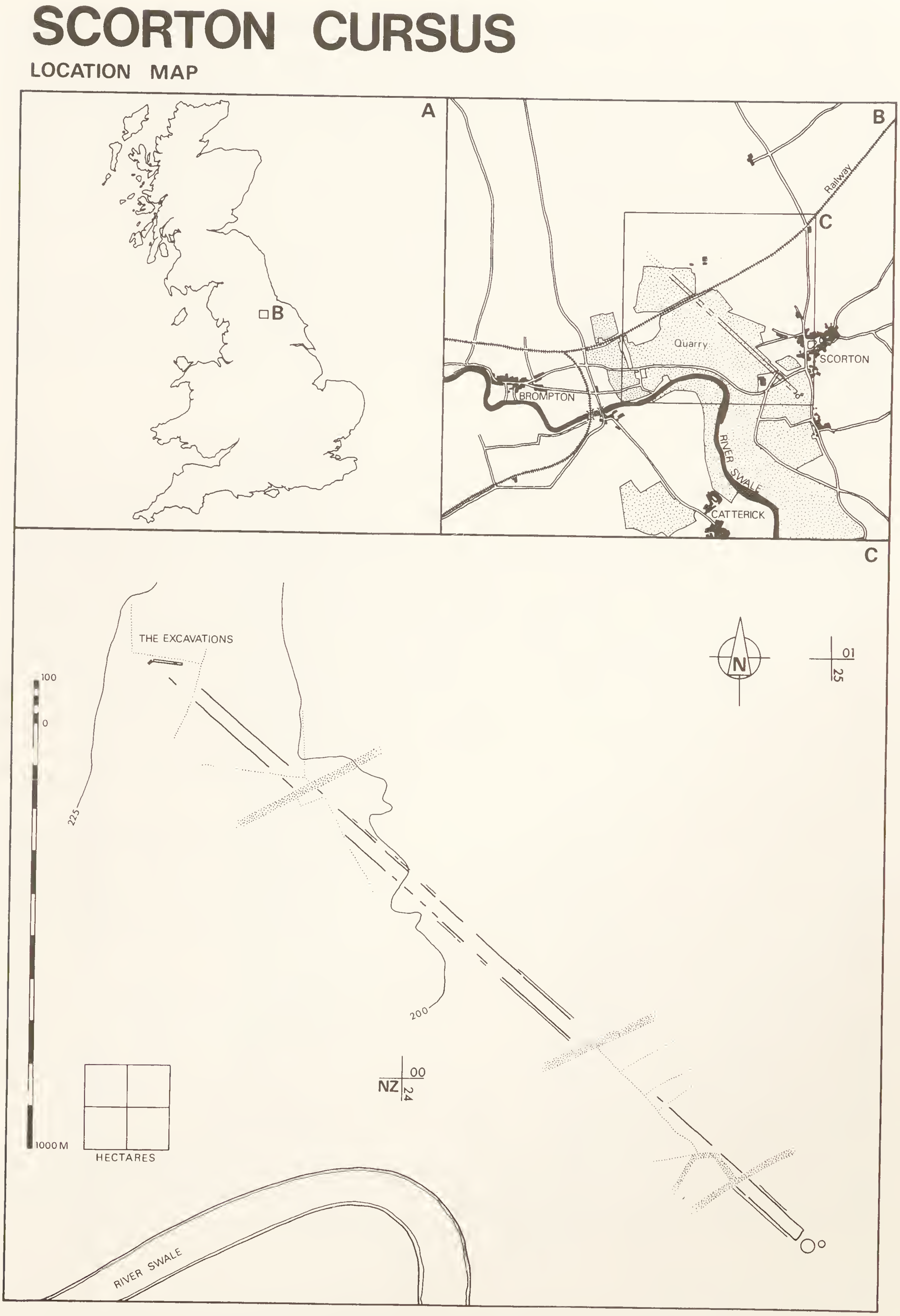

SCORTON CURSUS
LOCATION MAP
A
B
B
Railway
C
Quarry
SCORTON
BROMPTON
RIVER SWALE
CATTERICK
C
THE EXCAVATIONS
100
0
1000 M
225
200
N
01
25
00
NZ
24
HECTARES
RIVER SWALE

Fig. 1

Another noteworthy feature brought out by the aerial photographs is the accuracy with which the ditches have been laid out, so that they are remarkably straight considering the distance over which they extend. It must be remembered, however, that the flat land of the river terraces would have greatly facilitated accurate surveying, so that the straightness of the ditches may not be all that unusual considering the topography.

The terrain over which the cursus was constructed is the typical flat land of an old river terrace, affording good visibility over fairly long distances, in addition to an area that is particularly well drained. However, it should be noted that the full length of the cursus does not lie on absolutely flat land, and that the north-west half of the monument is situated on gradually rising ground, especially in the area of the excavations.

The only ring-ditch cropmark so far examined was to the west of the cursus, and proved to contain a single primary burial with a beaker. No skeletal material survived due to the acid conditions of the soil, though carbonised wood suggested the outline of a coffin. As yet no radiocarbon determination is available for this site (pers. comm. M. Griffiths).

(1) The Ditches

The ditches of the cursus are the two most prominent features of this site on the aerial photographs. As has been mentioned above, the only evidence available for the existence of the cursus in the area to be excavated was a section exposed in the adjacent gravel quarry. This section clearly illustrated quite distinct re-cut features visible in the profiles of both ditches, and evidence of this recutting was also discovered in the excavated areas. However, one anomaly which did distinguish the excavated sections from those exposed in the quarry was the variable depth of the ditches. In the quarry face sections the western ditch had a maximum depth of 60cms, while in the excavated area its maximum depth was 45 cms; similarly, the eastern ditch had a maximum depth of 65 cms in the quarry, and a maximum depth of 43 cms in the excavations. This may have resulted from the actions of hillwash or ploughing reducing the height of the old land surface in this area where the ground naturally rises, or alternatively indicate no more than an uneven depth to the ditches. Their width was fairly consistent, the maximum width of the eastern ditch being 3.40 m, while that of the western ditch was 3.85 m.

Recutting in both ditches was indicated by a V-shaped notch beneath the main profile of the ditch. Unfortunately all the evidence for layering within the ditch fill had been obliterated by the effects of leaching, an inevitable action promoted by the combination of hillwash on a clay and gravel subsoil which caused the fill to appear as a uniform black material, the humus having been washed down into all of the archaeological features (cf Figs 2 & 3). Tip lines were also undetectable in the sections.

Closely dateable artefacts were sadly lacking in the ditches, the one possible exception being flint No. 63. This is of the 'petit tranchet' derivitive form, possibly an arrowhead, from the upper fill of the eastern ditch (AI FII). This is a type frequently found in Grooved Ware contexts (cf Manby 1974, 84), but in view of the isolation and stratigraphy of this piece, it should not be given undue significance. The upper fill of the eastern ditch also produced flint No. 62, a broken secondary flake.

The small area excavated over the western ditch produced three flints from archaeological contexts. No. 67, an irregular blade. No. 68, a secondary flake, and No. 69, an inner flake, all came from the primary silt of the ditch. Unfortunately none of these artefacts sealed in the primary silt are diagnostic of a closely dateable context.

(2) The Central Feature

Bleach marks on Prof. St. Joseph's aerial photographs revealed what appeared to be a series of axially placed contiguous mounds situated between the main ditches, and

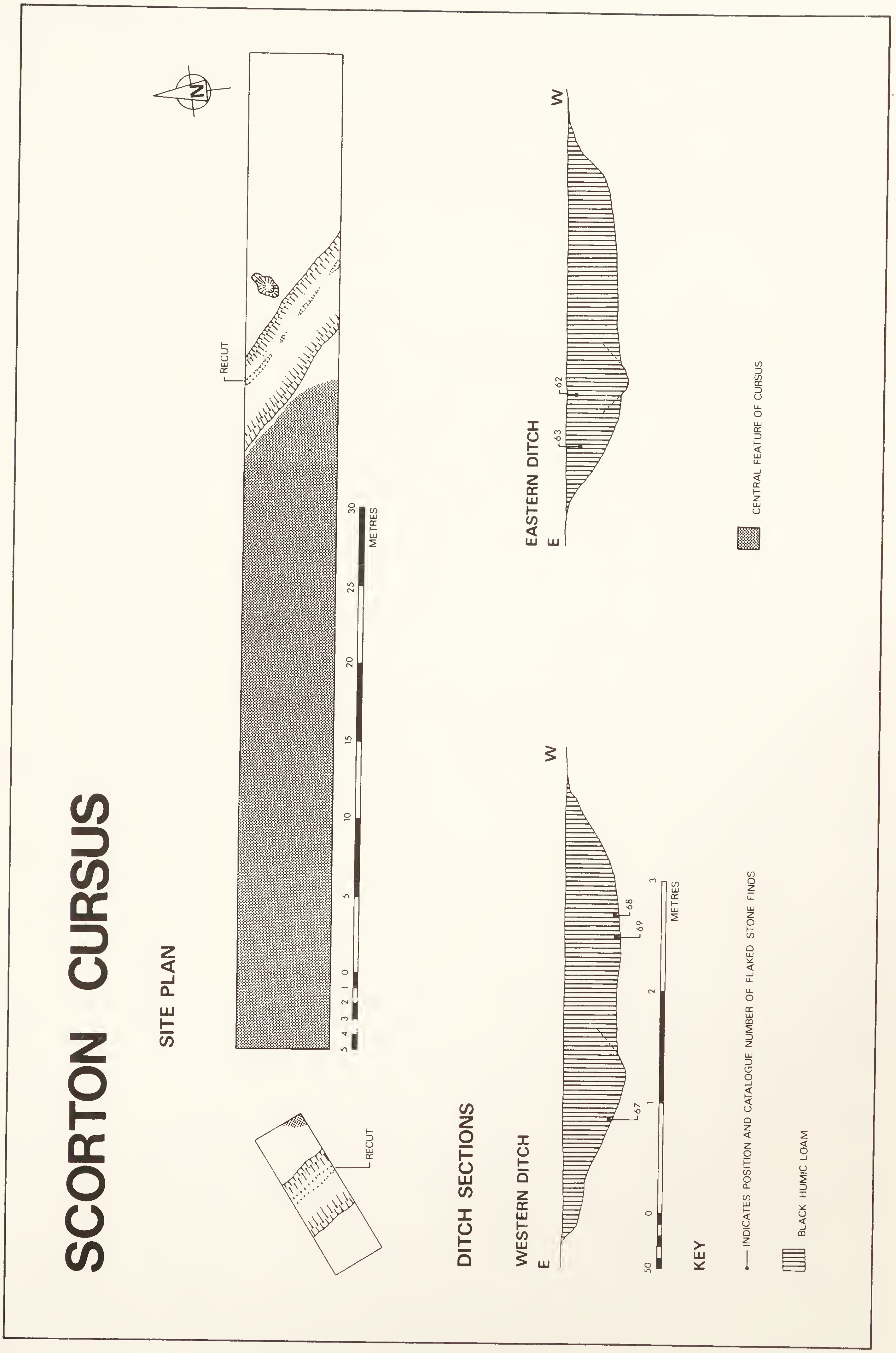

SCORTON CURSUS
SITE PLAN
N
RECUT
RECUT
5 4 3 2 1 0
5
10
15
20
25
30
METRES
DITCH SECTIONS
WESTERN DITCH
E
W
67
68
69
50
0
1
2
3
METRES
EASTERN DITCH
E
W
62
63
KEY
INDICATES POSITION AND CATALOGUE NUMBER OF FLAKED STONE FINDS
BLACK HUMIC LOAM
CENTRAL FEATURE OF CURSUS

Fig. 2

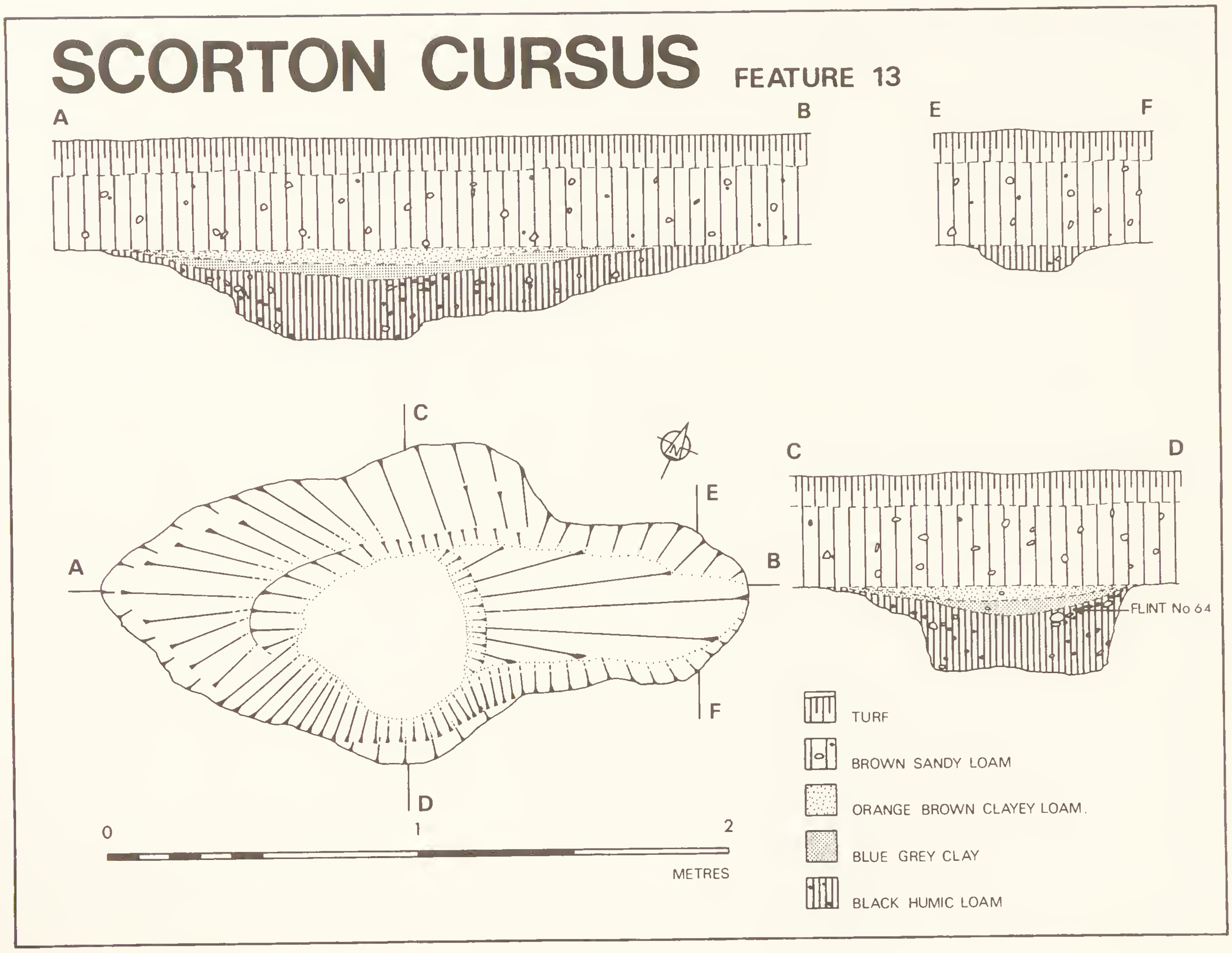


Fig. 3

extending the whole length of the long axis of the monument as then known. The presence of this feature was confirmed in the excavated area. A low central mound was uncovered, within and respecting the line of the ditches, which had a maximum height of 32 cms above the old ground surface.

It was decided to sample this mound by excavating a series of transecting trenches across it, the aim being to provide both a 90° section through its total width in addition to sections through its centre. This would also show whether there was any structural or constructional features visible within the mound material, and provide an opportunity for environmental sampling.

On excavation the mound appeared to be simple dump construction without any noteworthy structural features, though a few randomly scattered cobbles were found sealed beneath it. There was certainly no evidence of stacked turves or timbering, the whole appearing as a uniform, compacted podsolised material. The most likely explanation for the existence of the mound is that it was formed by upcast from the ditches, and was a convenient method of disposing of this material. This hypothesis is lent weight by the fact that there were no traces of internal or external banks flanking the ditches, though these are a recurrent feature at a great many cursus monuments. In the absence of side banks, a central dump would be the most convenient way of disposing of the material excavated from the ditches.

It was impossible to assess the original dimensions of the mound from the excavated sections. Plough-damage, and its effect in reducing the height of the mound or spreading its width, could not be assessed in such an unsympathetic structure. In addition, the absence of any retaining kerb or revetment inhibits any estimate of its width.

This same low mound was clearly visible in the adjacent quarry face. One can conclude, therefore, that in combination with the evidence of the aerial photographs the cursus had as a central feature a series of contiguous mounds, but whether these only occupied the centre of the site and have been spread by plough-damage, or whether they formed a long uneven linear mound extending from ditch edge to ditch edge to give the monument an almost cambered appearance, the evidence available at present is inconclusive and only further excavation may elucidate this point.

Only two artefacts were recovered from this feature, both from the transecting trenches. Flint No. 61, a secondary flake, was discovered at a depth of 11 cm from the top of the mound material, and an undecorated rim sherd in a fine fabric, No. P.11, was recovered from a depth of 4cm.

(3) The Pit/Post-hole, (Feature 13)

Not noticeable on the aerial photographs was a pit/post-hole that was situated within 0.5 m of the eastern ditch. This was stratigraphically related to the cursus to the extent that it was sealed by the same layer of hillwash that had buried the cursus ditches. In addition, this feature clearly respected the limits of the eastern ditch. The dimensions of the pit/post-hole were: maximum diameter at its base, 1.12 m, the maximum width at its top, 2.10 m, length 4.19 m, and a maximum depth of 60 cm.

The sections of the pit had unfortunately suffered a great deal from the effects of leaching, and consequently the lower fill appeared as a uniform black loam. This natural action had obliterated any possibility of detecting layering suggestive of a post-pipe. However quite distinct tip lines were evident leading in and downwards towards the centre of the feature, this central area being relatively stone-free. This could suggest that this feature originally held a post which was subsequently removed at a later date.

As can be seen from Fig. 3, the two uppermost layers of the feature were still distinguishable. The lower of these consisted of a blue/grey clay, while the upper was an orange/brown clayey loam. These layers could be paralleled at such sites as Durrington Walls (Wainwright and Longworth 1971, 388-408) or Meldon Bridge (Burgess 1976, 163), where in similar large post-holes they were taken to represent 'weathering cones', evidence of the post having rotted in situ. Unfortunately it is difficult to be so positive in the conditions encountered at Scorton.

The only artefact associated with this feature was a lightly patinated flint blade, No. 64, discovered amidst one of the uppermost tip lines in the black humic loam that comprises the bulk of the fill, cf Fig. 3

(4) An Artificial Hole in the Eastern Ditch-Floor (Feature 17)

An examination of both ditch-floors revealed what appeared to be the truncated base of a post-hole in the re-cut floor of the eastern ditch. This feature was sectioned and found to be flat-bottomed and to have a depth of only 3 cm, and a diameter of 25 cm. The fill was indistinguishable from the fill of the cursus ditch and contained no traces of organic material. As with the other archaeological features, the precise relationship of the feature to the ditch-fill was obscured by the dramatic effects of the leaching which obliterated any evidence that could have revealed to which stage in the development of the ditches this feature was related. That this feature was cut into the recut phase of the ditches is as much as can be ascertained from the evidence available.

Although the exact function of this feature is unknown, it can be paralleled at the cursus monuments at North Stoke (Crowmarsh), Oxfordshire, and at Dorchester, Oxfordshire (Atkinson et al. 1951, 57).

At North Stoke, Case hypothesised that the series of such features discovered in the ditch-floor, although the one example that was excavated was deeper than the Scorton example, were not purely functional. He argued that they could represent the remnants of some ritual or magical practice connected with the digging of the ditch. This may be true, but as with most forms of ritual behaviour or beliefs almost impossible to prove as there is little surviving in the way of physical manifestations of such 'magico-religious' behaviour.

However a more functional interpretation could be postulated for the Scorton example, which it should be stressed is at the moment an isolated example and not part of a closely grouped series as at the other two sites. Considering the distances invoved in marking out such lengths of cursus ditches, at Scorton *c.* 2.1 kilometres, and using the naked eye, it may be possible that the truncated base of the post-hole represents the remains of some form of surveying marker. Over the distances covered an upright post of c. 25cm. diameter would be necessary to be easily visible over the flat-lands of the Swale river terraces. Obviously if this hypothesis is correct then one would expect a series of such surveying markers at regular intervals to enable an accurate and straight line to be produced. Unfortunately as so much of the monument is now destroyed it may be impossible in the short sections that remain to comfortably test this hypothesis.

Discussion

The Scorton cursus can be seen as following the traditions of the northern group of cursus monuments in its situation and general morphology. The relatively flat river terraces of the Swale at Scorton are echoed at Thornborough, Rudston and the Milfield basin, and the fact that these cursus are aligned on or closely associated with rivers is a recurrent feature not only in the north but also nationally.

Another important feature which Scorton cursus shares with the other northern examples, although to a slightly more limited extent, is that it can be seen as part of a concentration or complex of 'magico-religious' structures. The importance and continuity of the Thornborough area is shown by the replacement of the cursus by a henge monument, one of a group of three in close proximity in the Ure Valley. The great complex of cursus at Rudston, with the famous monolith surrounded by a series of these enclosures, is probably one of the most highly developed magico-religious landscapes in the north. Similarly the cursus at Milfield is an integral part of a landscape dominated by a minimum of seven henge monuments, a complex of sites which clearly reflect the importance of this area. It is within this northern tradition that Scorton cursus must be placed, and it can be seen within this context of monument associations that as a whole the Scorton area is a less developed landscape than the above examples. Whether this reflects the relative importance of the site it is difficult to assess, but it may be an important factor when the proximity of the Rudston and Thornborough complexes is taken into account. The major features associated with the cursus at Scorton are a group of ring-ditch cropmarks principally clustered around the south-east terminal end. This would seem to suggest that the same degree of importance attached to the other northern complexes was not afforded to Scorton and that no great degree of continuity and 'magico-religious' significance developed at the site. It may also reflect that the Scorton site had only a comparatively limited period of use and was never fully developed as happened at the other northern sites.

The length of the cursus of Scorton is quite conservative and does not display any unusual innovations or deviations from the norm in the traditions of this monumental form. From a sample of sixteen cursus, the average length is found to be 2087.7 m, within the minimum and maximum parameters set by Kempston, Beds. 91 m + in length, and the Dorset cursus, 19,811 m. That the Scorton cursus is 2100 m in length (provisional length only until the north-west terminal is discovered) places the monument very close indeed to the average length of these monuments.

Similarly, the breadth between the ditches at Scorton is fairly close to the average for these monuments. With a sample of fifteen cursus the average breadth is 54.1 m, the minimum being established by the cursus at Crowmarsh (North Stoke), Oxon, whose internal dimension was 10.9 m while the greatest measurement occurs at the Stonehenge cursus where certain sections are up to 128 m between the ditches. The measurement of 39.6 m between the ditches at Scorton shows again that this cursus is close to the parameters set by the majority of monuments in this class.

This conformity to dimensional similarity breaks down slightly when a detailed appraisal is made of the ditches. The fact that the sample numbers are now reduced may have affected the results to a slight degree but they cannot disguise the trends shown by the results. In the case of the width of cursus ditches in general, from a sample of seven the average is shown as 2.9 m. Sections of the Dorchester-on-Thames and the Stonehenge cursus ditches are as narrow as 1.5 m whereas the Scorton example has ditches 3.8 m wide, the widest known at present, and quite clearly above average width by comparison. However this may simply be a reflection of the fact that the ditches at Scorton were recut at least once and therefore this may have widened them to a greater extent than with the other known examples.

A similar lack of conformity can be seen in the case of the depth of the ditches at Scorton. A sample of eight depth measurements produced an average of 1.1 m, the greatest depth being recorded at Crowmarsh (North Stoke) which varied between 1.67 - 2.28 m, while the shallowest depth recorded was 0.45 - 0.43 m at Scorton. This measurement does not reflect erosion by ploughing as the excavated area was protected to a certain degree by a layer of hillwash from the rising ground to the north.

From the above it can be seen that although Scorton cursus closely fits the traditional concepts of length and breadth, its ditches are unusually shallow and the fact that these were recut has produced unusually wide ditches at this site. These two variables in ditch dimensions may reflect a greater period of use for the cursus than was normal, as evidenced by the recuts without a noticeable development of associated monuments in the adjacent areas as was the case at Thornborough, Rudston and Milfield.

One feature which it is difficult to assess the existence of at Scorton are the 'gaps' or formalised causeways in the ditches which lead into the interior. Such features were discovered at the Dorset cursus by Atkinson, albeit by probing, at the Springfield cursus in Essex, and in the Stonehenge and Dorchester-on-Thames cursus. Unfortunately the great degree of disturbance from the airfield and the gravel quarry at Scorton make it difficult to establish with any certainty whether such features existed at this site. The unevenness of the cropmarks in certain areas leaving putative gaps do not appear to be as convincing as the more balanced gaps in the ditches as can be seen at Springfield. Unfortunately because of the high degree of destruction at Scorton it may now be too late to test for these features.

The recorded south-east terminal end at Scorton is quite a typical straight transverse ditch, a common form also found at Sutton Courtenay, Berks, Benson, Oxon (Leeds, 1934) and featured on the Dorset cursus. (Atkinson 1955). This may denote that there was a permissible degree of variation in local building traditions as the nearby cursus at Thornborough features a terminal which is of a more rounded form despite the fact that the terminals of cursus A and B at Rudston both have the straight transverse ditch.

The lost north-west terminal end of Scorton, if it exists and is not an open-ended cursus, must be found on the rising ground around the 225 (ft) contour. If the interpretation that the external pit/post-hole held a lithic or organic upright, and was one of a group at this end of the cursus, then a system of uprights would lead the eye up the rising ground to a possible focal point of the monument on the horizon. Whether this was designed to mark an astronomical or solsticial event it would be difficult to prove but the fact that the terminal end is situated on rising ground and apparently delineating a point on the horizon may be a significant feature in the siting of the monument.

The cursus interior at Scorton would appear to be unusual in that the flattened mound found in the excavations would seem to be part of a series of contiguous mounds, or indeed a single mound which from the evidence of the aerial photographs runs the full length of the monument. In the excavated area it was difficult to assess whether this mound had been artificially flattened by plough damage, as no internal structure was discovered, or whether this feature was in its original condition. It is possible that the mound may have had a greater height originally, the more limited area covered by the mounds in the aerial photographs compared with the more extensive size of this feature in the excavations could suggest the north-west area was more severely plough-damaged. If this was so then the original form of the monument in section may have appeared like an exaggerated camber.

If the interpretation that this central feature was one manifestation of earth disposal for the upcast from the ditches is correct, it would seem unlikely that once this 'cambered' effect was achieved that the cursus interior was then utilised as a building site as happened at Springfield (Hedges and Buckley, forthcoming). At this cursus an incomplete timber circle of fourteen post-holes was found, c. 26 m in diameter and all over 60 cms deep below the subsoil, producing a link between this common Neolithic structural form and the cursus. A structure of this type, if interpreted as a building, would be unlikely to have been sited on a cambered surface. If however a simple circle of upright timbers was the aim, then a sloping cambered surface would have presented few problems in building such a structure. Such an internal structure although not discovered in the 1978 excavations, would prove difficult to discover at Scorton due to the vagaries of the heavily leached soils.

Feature 13, the external pit/post-hole feature offers interesting possibilities for the interpretation of the form of the north-west terminal end. The fact that a layer of hillwash would have protected any external ditches in this area, in addition to the fact that none were found in the excavations, must indicate a change in the form of this monument as it reaches the gradually rising ground. As has been mentioned above, from the south-east terminal end almost two-thirds of the monument would seen to have been associated with external ditches of a more slight form than the main ditches in its original state. The association of external pits with cursus ditches is not totally unknown, at Milfield two pits were discovered near the western ditch although they lacked any indication that they had held upright posts (Harding 1979, 7). However, at Scorton the evidence of the tip-lines in the sections of feature 13 would suggest that in its original form the feature must have functioned as a post-hole. In addition, the fact that a second post hole appeared in the section exposed in the gravel quarry would suggest that the excavated example was not an isolated occurrence but may have been part of a regular pattern.

Of the artefact record recovered at Scorton, the flaked stone assemblage is the most important facet. Like several other cursus monuments such as Sutton Courtney, North Stoke and Springfield, the evidence at Scorton suggested knapping activities with poor quality materials actually taking place at the site, with an emphasis on the working of flint. Although no specific knapping or workshop activity areas were discovered in the excavated area, the existence of this type of assemblage at the site in view of the other examples known, cannot be regarded as unusual, and must reflect part of the spectrum of behavioural patterns associated with such sites.

The reconstruction of the environmental conditions has been much more problematical due to the harsh effect of the leaching on the deposits investigated. The fact that the features cut into the subsoil now have the appearance of a uniform black humic material has not aided analysis. Nevertheless the powdered charcoal did indicate the presence of *Quercus* (Oak). These environmental conditions would seem to be paralleled at the nearby cursus at Thornborough, roughly 21 kms (13 miles) to the south-west of

Scorton. Here the high humic content of the ditch silts was analysed as representative of a forest soil with woodland relatively close to the monument, under an oceanic climate with high precipitation. From this Thomas (1955, 432) postulated a construction date during the Atlantic climatic phase, a period which was typified by mixed oak forest with alder. Considering the relatively close proximity of Scorton to Thornborough and the similar conditions encountered with the deposits it would seem not unfair to interpret a similar local environment for the monument at Scorton. Topographically the two cursus are in similar locations and their nearness to one another could suggest similar situations. Without more favourable environmental deposits becoming available from the cursus at Scorton this must remain the only feasible speculation possible at present.

An accurate date for the construction and use of Scorton cursus is also difficult largely because insufficient dateable material was recovered during the 1978 excavations. The use of analogy is the only method currently possible. Potentially one of the most useful sites would have been the Thornborough complex: here not only is the cursus fairly close to Scorton; it is also sealed by a henge monument. This would have provided a useful 'terminus post quem' for the cursus, but unfortunately the henge is of type II A and none of this form have yet been dated by conventional scientific methods. Therefore one has to turn to the other local example, the cursus complex at Rudston, roughly 88 kms (55 miles) to the east-south-east of Scorton. From the excavations carried out at Rudston, and particularly the section through the west ditch of cursus A in 1958 (Dymond 1966, 91) it is possible to gain some impression of the chronology of the site. The earliest material evidence is represented by sherds of Grimston and Heslerton ware of Primary Neolithic date which were incorporated in a residual state into the cursus banks and several of the nearby round barrows excavated by Greenwell (Greenwell, W. (1877) *British Barrows,* 253 ff). This gives some indication of the scale and extent of local Neolithic settlement which judged by the volume of the artefactual evidence must have been fairly well developed and quite extensive. Unfortunately none of this material recovered relates to the construction phase of the cursus. However, four important Beaker sherds discovered in the primary silt of the west ditch of cursus A do give some indication of the period of use of this site.

These four crucial sherds, two rim sherds and two body sherds, represent several major styles in Beaker decorative motifs and cover a possible chronological span of c. 500 radio-carbon years b.c. Potentially the earliest sherd is No. 4 (cf Dymond 1966 p 92 fig 4), a body sherd in the 'All-Over-Cord' tradition and which outside of Wessex must date to the period 2200-2100 b.c. (Burgess 1980). However, there are problems in the dating of this sherd in that it is possible that this decorative tradition has a longer life than simply Steps 1-2 of Lanting and van der Waals (1972), and it may be possible that in the future the chronology of this style will be lengthened. Certainly the fact that these sherds would appear contemporary from a sealed context would seem to add weight to this proposition, unless this sherd is purely residual representing ditch cleaning activities.

Sherd No. 3, a rim sherd with three horizontal furrows, is much more difficult to assess. From the material currently available it would seem that the only parallels, and not particuarly good ones, occur in step 4 with examples from Huggate and Warterwold 254 and Garrowby Wold 104. Chronologically this rough assessment would, however, tie in with that of the remaining two sherds.

Sherds No. 1 and 2, a body sherd and a rim sherd, are decorated with comb-impressed lozenge patterns which in the Yorkshire scheme of Lanting and van der Waals do not appear before step 5. At this stage in development the decoration, as at Aldro 116 or Garton Slack 163, is purely a basic form of lozenge motif with little innovation. However, the closest parallels to the Rudston sherds are the developed lozenge designs of step 6 such as Garton Slack 37 or Tinshill. The current dating of this developmental stage

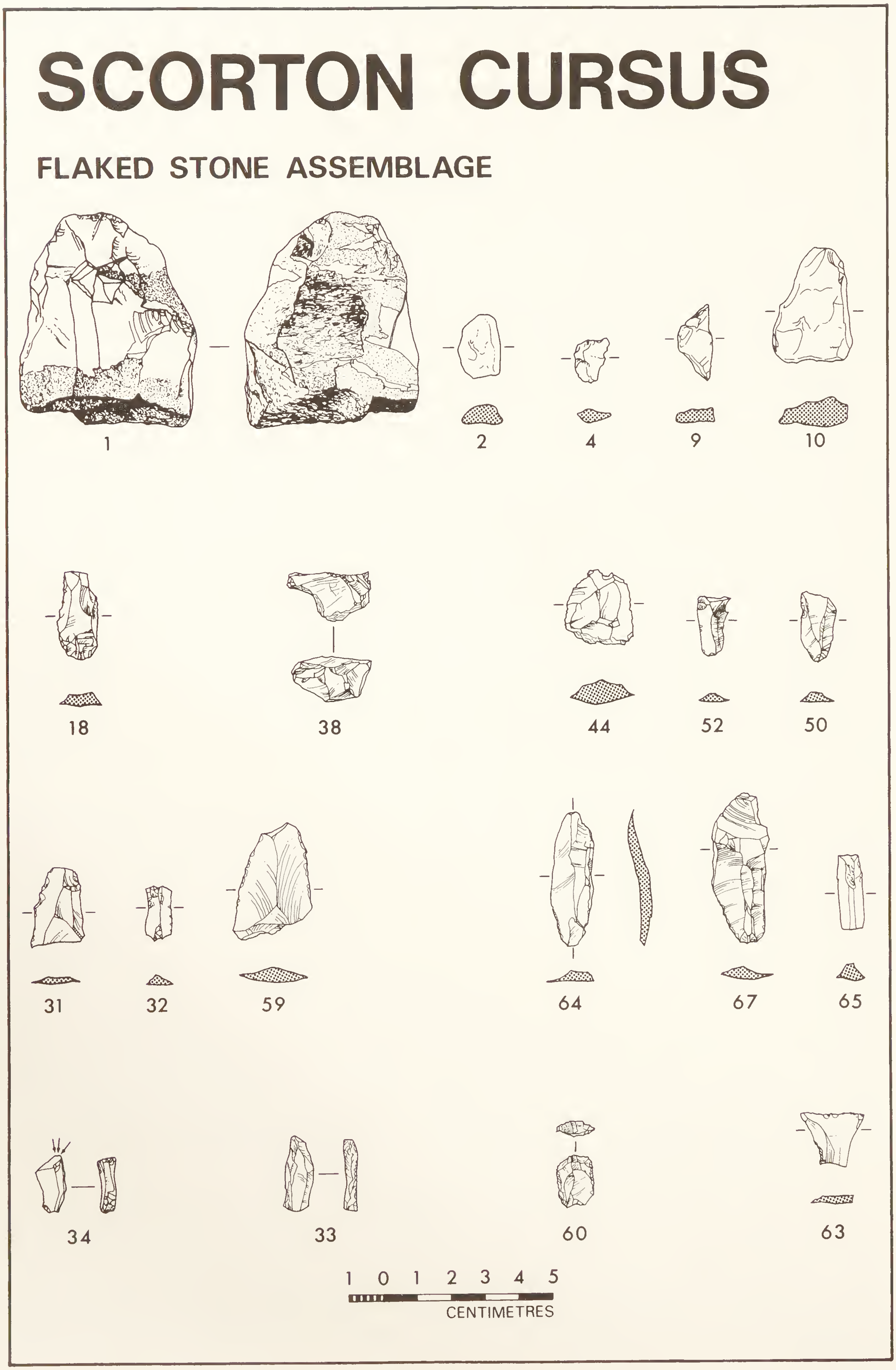

SCORTON CURSUS
FLAKED STONE ASSEMBLAGE
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
CENTIMETRES

Fig. 4

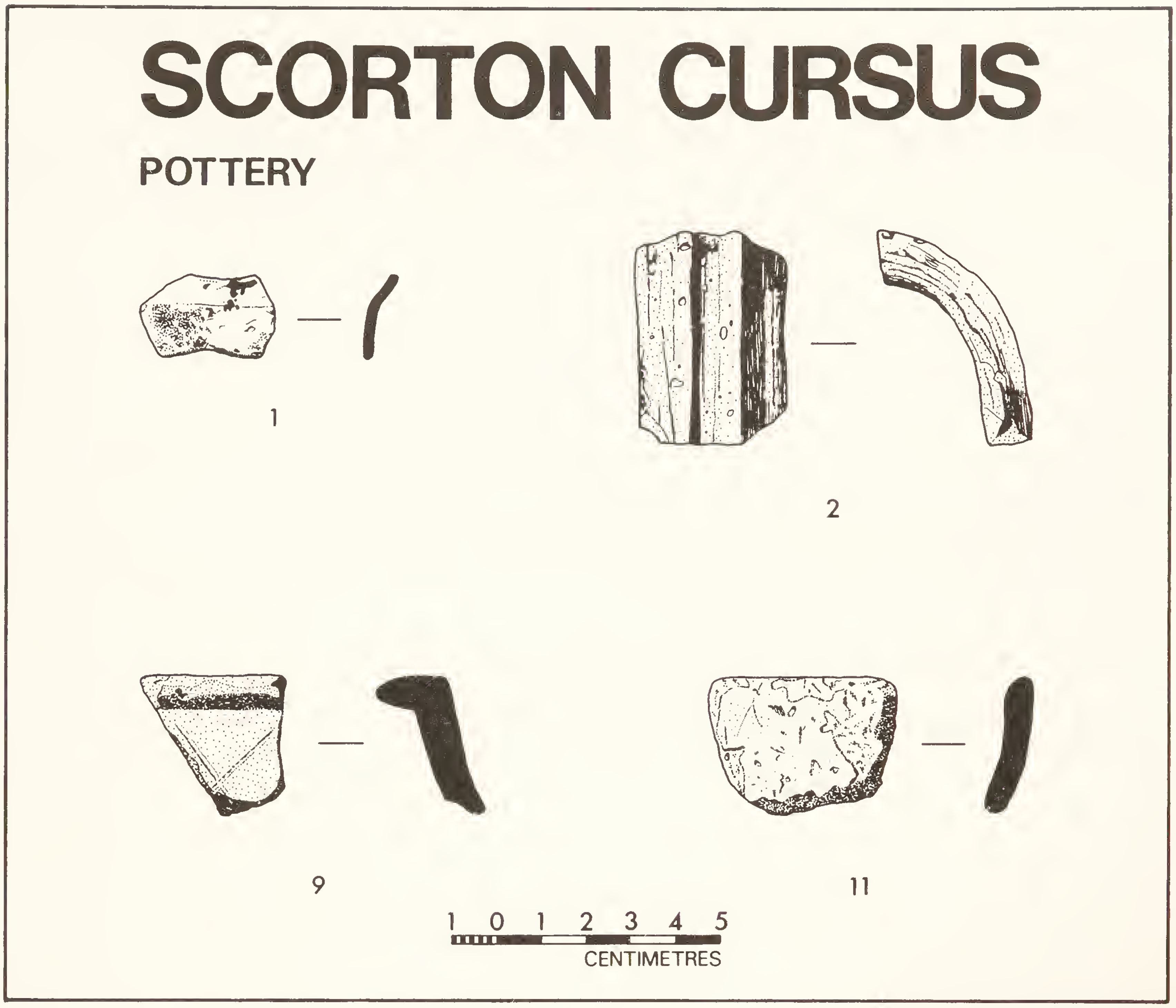


Fig. 5

is roughly c. 1800-1700 b.c., and this date must determine the 'terminus post quem' of cursus A at Rudston.

From the evidence available at Rudston, it would appear that cursus monuments in Yorkshire developed during the late Neolithic, and flourished, as can be seen at Rudston in its magnificent complex of these monuments, into the Early Bronze Age. It is within this local chronological framework that the cursus at Scorton must have developed, although not to as great an extent as the important centres of Rudston or Thornborough.

Acknowledgements

Permission to excavate at Scorton was kindly given by the farmer, Mr. Burton, and the quarry operated by Tilcon Ltd. During the course of the excavation a great deal of help and advice was generously provided by Colin Burgess and John Barrett, and Mike Griffiths ensured the smooth running of the financial administration of the site. As with any site the hard-work is done by the diggers who unfortunately are too numerous to mention individually but I thank them all. Thanks are especially due to Barbara Esslemont and Gordon Moir who supervised quite difficult areas and relieved me of some of the burden of directing the excavations, and to Ron Moss who tiressly did the photography on site. Thanks are also due to Linda Southern who not only ensured that the daily administration of the site ran smoothly, but foolishly agreed to type the final report. Sheena Crawford, John Hodgson and Jim Barnes made it possible to finish the final phases of excavation and also deserve thanks. In addition thanks must go to Angie Townshend who drew the flints, and to the authors of the specialist reports, Caroline Whickham-Jones, Kevin Greene and Elaine Matheson.

Bibliography

Atkinson, R. J. C., Piggott, C. M. and Sandars, N. K., (1951) *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon.*

Atkinson, R. J. C., (1955) 'The Dorset Cursus'. *Antiquity* XXIX.

Burgess, C. B., (1976) *Meldon Bridge: a Neolithic defended promontory complex near Peebles.* In *Settlement and Economy in the Third and Second Millennium BC,* ed. Burgess, C. B., and Miket, R., BAR 33.

Burgess, C. B., (1980) *The Age of Stonehenge.*

Dymond, D. P., (1966) 'Ritual Monuments at Rudston, E. Yorkshire, England'. *PPS* 32.

Greenwell, W., (1877) *British Barrows.*

Harding, A. F., (1979) *Excavations at Milfield, Northumberland.* Universities of Durham and Newcastle Arch. Reports for 1978.

Hedges, J. D. and Buckley, D. G., *Springfield Cursus and the Cursus Problem* (forthcoming)

Lanting, J. N. and van der Waals, J. D, (1972) 'British Beakers as seen from the Continent'. *Helinium* 12.

Leeds, E. T., (1934) 'Rectangular Enclosures of the Bronze Age in the Upper Thames Valley'. *Antiquaries Journal* XIV.

Manby, T. G., (1974) *Grooved Ware Sites in the North of England,* BAR 9.

RCHM (England) 1960 *A Matter of Time.*

RCHM (England) (1979) *Stonehenge and its Environs.*

Renfrew, C. ed. (1974) *British Prehistory.*

Riley, D. N., (1943) 'Archaeology from the Air in the Upper Thames Valley'. *Oxoniensia.* 8

Thomas, N., (1955) The Thornborough Circles, near Ripon, North Riding'. *YAJ* 38.

Wainwright, G. J. and Longworth, I. H., (1971). *Durrington Walls: Excavations 1966-1968.*

APPENDIX 1: THE FLAKED STONE ASSEMBLAGE

Caroline Whickham-Jones

A sampling strategy recovered the following artefacts from the specified contexts.

TURF AND TOPSOIL - eight chert and six flint unworked pebble nodules; two chert primary flakes; six flint secondary flakes; eleven flint and one chert inner flakes.

PLOUGH SOIL - three chert unworked pebble nodules; one flint core trimming flake; one flint primary flake; four flint secondary flakes; three chert and ten flint inner flakes; four burnt flint flakes.

THE CENTRAL FEATURE - one flint secondary flake.

UPPER FILL OF THE EASTERN DITCH - one flint secondary flake; one flint 'petit tranchet derivative'.

THE EXTERNAL PIT/POST-HOLE - one flint inner flake.

HILLWASH SEALING THE WESTERN DITCH - two flint inner flakes.

PRIMARY SILT OF THE WESTERN DITCH - one flint irregular blade; one flint secondary flake; one flint inner flake.

A total of sixty-nine artefacts were recovered.

APPENDIX 2: POTTERY

Dr. Kevin Greene and Peter Topping

A sampling strategy recovered ten sherds from the plough soil, of which seven were Roman and three Medieval. The most notable of these were sherd No. 1, a body sherd of colour coated beaker, probably from Central Gaul, Gillam type 45 or similar, later second or ? early third century; No. 2, a Medieval strap handle, late thriteenth - fourteenth century; and No. 9, a rim sherd of Black Burnished Ware, category I from Dorset, Gillam type 219 or 309, second century.

The only stratified sherd recovered came from the material which composed the central feature, No. II, a rim sherd with mid-brown surfaces and a blue-grey core, the fabric had an admixture of micaceous sand and slight grit inclusions no larger than 1.00mm. The original form and tradition of this vessel are uncertain. (cf. Fig. 5).

Three pieces of tile and fragments of recent glass were also recovered from the plough soil.

APPENDIX 3: OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOIL MATERIAL FROM THE DITCHES OF SCORTON CURSUS

Elaine Matheson

Soil samples from the cursus ditches at Scorton in North Yorkshire were analysed for any biological remains which may have reflected past human activity. The material was sorted by washing through a series of sieves and each fraction examined in turn.

The material itself was quite dry and appeared compacted into aggregate lumps which readily crumbled. Indeed, just the force of the water used for washing alone was sufficient to break down the mass into its constituent matter and many of the particles were small enough to pass through the finest sieve.

The sieved out fractions revealed the presence of a certain amount of gravel, stones, clay matter and much coarse sand. Microscopical examination revealed, in addition, particles of carbon which gave the Scorton material its dark colour. In fact, a search through the intermediate fraction (particle size 0.6 mm - 3.35 mm) yielded frank charcoal in very small quantity. Even so the minute particles of charcoal were identifiable and indicated Oak *(Quercus)*, which gave the impression that the material marked a site where most of the charcoal formed was powdered by the environmental conditions.

Unfortunately, no other plant remains either intact or as debris were evident so with no further indicators of the former ecology it cannot be stated whether the Oak charcoal denoted woodland in the vicinity of the site or was brought there from outside by human agency. It is believed that the apparent absence of plant remains and a lack of insect or animal remains is due to the natural aeration of the samples which would not allow any remains to be preserved.

The Council of the Society wishes to thank the Department of the Environment for a grant towards the cost of publishing this paper.

TWO BRONZE AGE COLLARED URNS FROM THE HAMBLETON HILLS, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By RAYMOND A. VARLEY

Summary There are many burial mounds on the western edge of the Hambleton Hills, in North Yorkshire; nearly all were excavated during the last century. Canon William Greenwell is responsible for excavating at least two, a cairn and a round barrow; no burials were found in the limestone constructed cairn, but two bronze age Collared Urns containing cremated human bones and a flint scraper were found in the round barrow.

I INTRODUCTION

In the mid nineteenth century Canon William Greenwell visited the Hambleton Hills, with the interest and intention of excavating burial mounds; during this period the Hambletons were used as a training ground. Greenwell consulted the 6in. Ordnance Survey map published in 1856[1] which marks many of the burial mounds and visually surveyed the area on the western edge at Sutton Brow, north to Boltby Scar, promontory fort[2]; he observed that 'Most of the barrows there have been opened'[3]. He excavated two burial mounds which he says 'had been left untouched'[4], and records them in his book *British Barrows,* 1877, Nos CXXVII and CXXVIII. Although Greenwell records accurately the dimensions of the burial mounds and describes precisely and fully the composition of these mounds and their contents, the only illustrations accompanying his ponderous work are those of the pottery found, artifacts and a series of skulls. Not a single map, plan or section is published and the besetting fault of his age was the failure to site the burial mounds with exactitude.

According to H. Denny,[5] Greenwell excavated a burial mound on the Hambleton Hills in 1864, but Denny fails to site the barrow and once again no map or plans were published. The only site Denny refers to is 'Grooms Stools', where there are two large burial mounds, one of which was excavated by Mr. Manners Verity in 1863,[6] but this site does not relate to either of the burial mounds that Greenwell describes, nor does the dimensions of the barrow Denny states. Clearly the barrow Denny describes was not recorded by Greenwell. Mortimer wrote in the manuscript copy of his own work *Forty Years Researches,* that Greenwell 'not infrequently omitted to mention a barrow in which he found nothing'. This passage was later diplomatically deleted by the editor, Sheppard. Alternatively Denny may have confused the barrows Greenwell excavated.

II THE SITE

On describing the round barrow Greenwell wrote 'About half-a-mile to the south of the last-described barrow (this would be the cairn) was another, on the left hand of the road ascending Sutton Brow and within a few yards of the edge of the cliff'. From this barely sufficient passage we can identify the two burial mounds Greenwell excavated.

---

[1] Ordnance Survey Map Sheet 72, June 28th. 1856.

[2] Forde-Johnston, J., *Hillforts* (1976), p. 80, Fig. 35a.

[3] Greenwell, W., *British Barrows* (1877), p. 337.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

[5] Denny, H., 'Notice of Early British Tumuli on the Hambleton Hills, near Thirsk', *Proc. Yorks. Geol. & Poly. Soc.*, IV (1865), p. 499.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 499-500.

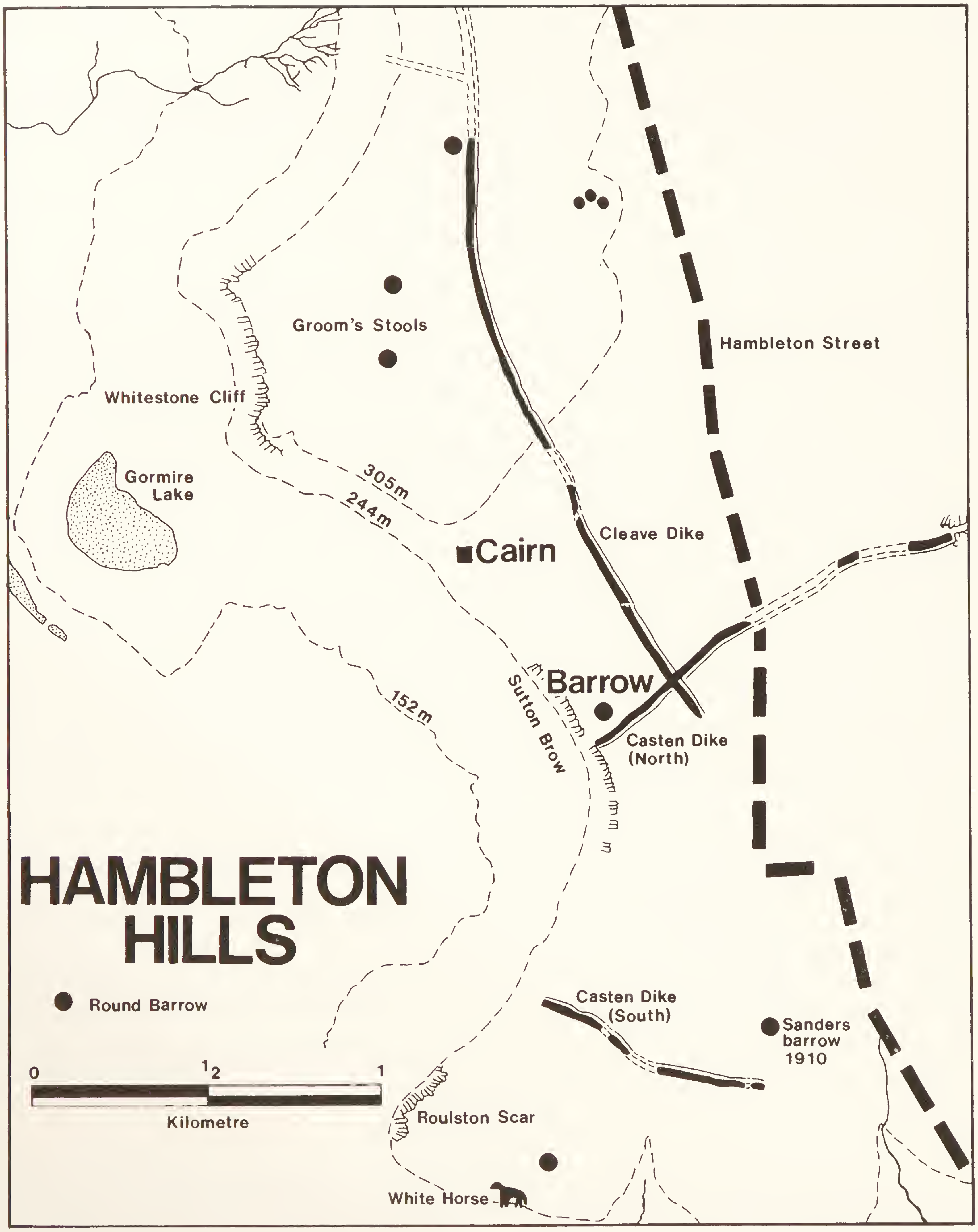


Fig. 1. The location of Greenwell's Cairn and Barrow together with the adjacent earthworks on the western edge of the Hambleton Hills.

The first to be excavated was the cairn, situated at about 980ft (302m) O.D., N.G.R. SE 513832 in the Cliff Plantation on the west side of the escarpment known as Sutton Brow (Fig. 1). The round barrow is situated 3 furlongs (620 yards) south-east of the cairn following the edge of the escarpment and intersecting the steep Sutton Bank road, into the Kilburn Moor Plantation at about 956ft (297m) O.D., N.G.R. SE 516827. It is close to the cliff face of the escarpment, south-east of the Casten Dike north which runs north-east. The best known location on this range of the Hambleton Hills is Sutton Bank, where the A170 climbs up the escarpment 6½ miles (10.5km.) east of Thirsk and 2¾ miles (4.5km.) to the north-east is the hamlet of Cold Kirby. The view is enhanced by Lake Gormire, a natural lake lying in a hollow at the foot of the bank. These burial mounds are two of many scattered in small groups, or individually on the Hambleton Hills, the largest group being those located at Hambleton Down, 2 miles (3.3km.) to the north of the cairn, close to the Cleave Dike, are a feature of the area.

At the time Greenwell excavated these burial-mounds they were situated on the Cold Kirkby Moor and no doubt covered by moor heather. To-day coniferous trees, ferns, moor heather and rough grass grow over the cairn, but the round barrow is in darkness with sitka spruce, which were dug and planted in 1938, growing over the mound, in the centre is a large depression where Greenwell dug into it. Covering the entire mound to a depth of 8cm. in places are pine needles, which have accumulated since the trees were planted in 1938. The burial mounds situated one on each side of the steep Sutton Bank road on the Corallian limestone which form the escarpment of the Hambleton Hills, commands extensive views overlooking the Vale of Mowbray.

III THE EXCAVATIONS

The Cairn

This was the first burial mound Greenwell excavated; it was then 30ft. (9.2m) in diameter and 4ft. (1.2m) high, constructed of limestone flags varying in size and placed on each other. The limestone at the centre of the cairn were larger and arranged in a circular form sloping and overlapping each other, this was about 12ft. (3.6m) in diameter placed on a layer of clay 15.3cm. to 20.4cm. thick on the natural surface. Found in the mound material were pieces of charcoal and two flint chippings.

The Round Barrow

According to Greenwell, the barrow was 44ft. (13.5m) in diameter and 5ft. (1.5m) high, it was found to be constructed of earth and clay, intermixed with a few stones. During the excavation, a round flint scraper (Fig. 2) was found in the barrow material with numerous flint chippings and various pottery sherds. A Secondary Urn standing on its base was found 3ft. (0.9m) east-south-east of the centre and 1ft. (0.3m) below the surface. The Primary Urn was found at the centre of the mound standing on its base, on well-worked clay which was 1ft. (0.3m) in thickness on the natural surface. Packed round the urn was clay and large pieces of charcoal over which were placed 2ft. (0.6m) of stones for its protection.

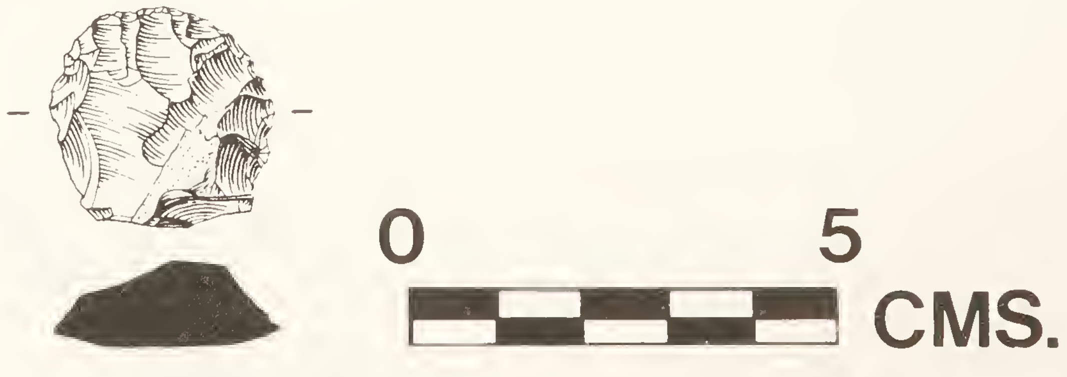


Fig. 2. A Convex Scraper from the barrow material.

IV THE COLLARED URNS

The Primary Urn (Fig. 3:1)

This Collared Urn was found complete by Greenwell, who 'on discovering a cinerary urn in this mound was so elated with his find and so fearful lest it should be injured on transit that although he had a horse and cart at his disposal, he carried his precious

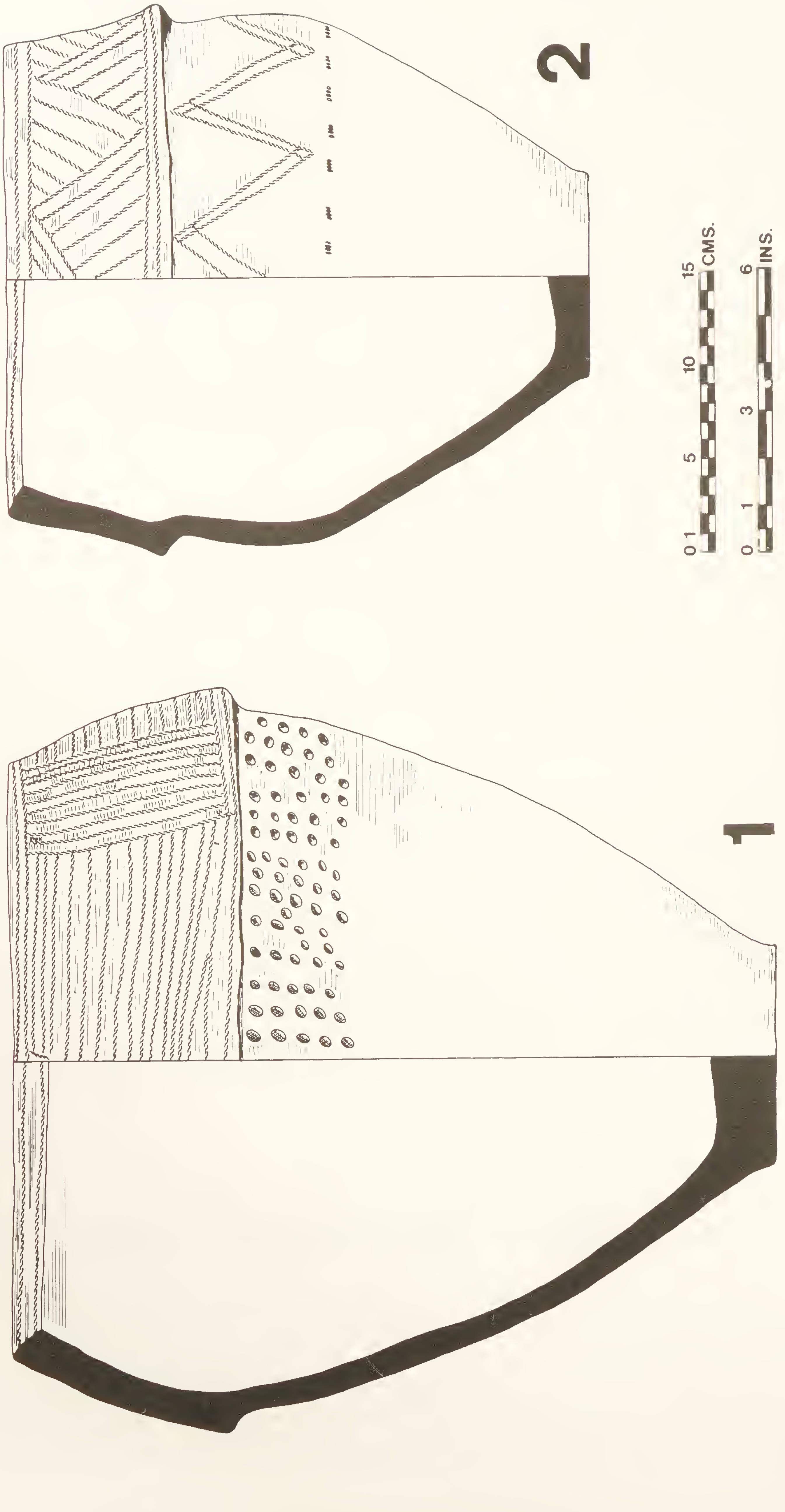


Fig. 3 The Collared Urns. 1: The Primary Urn. 2: The Secondary Urn.

treasure in his own arms to the foot of the steep Sutton Bank for fear that the jolting of the cart might break the urn'[7]. The urn is 41.8cm high, 32.0cm diameter at the rim and 11.8cm diameter at the base. The fabric is medium hard, buff-brown with reddish brown patches, covering the whole of the interior surface is a thin layer of carbon, the rim bevel and the upper part of the exterior collar is carbonised. The core is dark-brown to black and contains numerous particles of crushed limestone, both the interior and exterior surfaces are smooth.

Decoration on the collar is in the form of twisted cord impressions in horizontal lines inbetween vertical lines bordered by two horizontal lines. The neck is covered by a series of shallow pits produced by the rounded end of a stick or bone. The decoration on the rim bevel consists of two circumferential horizontal lines of twisted cord impressions. *British Museum 1879 W.G. 1243.*

The Secondary Urn (Fig. 3:2)

The sherds of this Collared Urn have been reconstructed; it is 31.2 cm high, 25.1 cm diameter at the rim and 10.8 cm diameter at the base. The exterior varies in colour from buff-brown to dark-brown with orange-brown patches, the base has a carbonised band 1.1 cm to 4.8 cm in depth. The interior is buff-brown with darker brown and orange patches carbonised towards the base, the core is black-brown tempered with crushed limestone particles. Both interior and exterior surfaces are smooth.

The decoration on the collar is bordered by two horizontal twisted cord impressed lines, the centre portion being decorated with filled triangles of twisted cord impressions. On the neck is a double zig-zag pattern of twisted cord impressions, and is bordered on the shoulder by a series of vertical finger-nail impressions. The single circumferential twisted cord line, as illustrated and described by Greenwell[8] has since been worn and rubbed off, there is only one large sherd of the rim.
British Museum 1879 W.G. 1242

The Scraper (Fig. 2)

A convex scraper from the barrow material, of white-light gray flint produced from a primary flake with a cortex patch near the spine, fine secondary working along the convex edges.
British Museum 1879 W. G. 1243A.

V DISCUSSION

Greenwell's excavating methods were according to the prevailing standards of the nineteenth century, by driving a trench the width of the barrow as originally constituted and before it was enlarged by being ploughed down, from south to north, through and beyond the centre. The cairn was the first mound to be excavated by Greenwell, with negative results. The only explanation he gives, 'is that an unburnt body had been deposited upon the layer of clay and then covered over with the large flag-stones, and that in consequence of the free admission of air and water, and from other disintegrating causes, due to the nature of the overlying material, the bones had gone entirely to decay'[9].

Small cairns on various remote parts of the North Yorkshire Moors and on the Cleveland Hills are a well-known feature. Many appear to be shapeless heaps of stone, others are more regular. Some groups of cairns are very large, numbering in hundreds; one such group on John Cross Rigg, between Iburndale and Robin Hood's Bay (NZ

---

[7] *Yorkshire Gazette*, 24th September 1910.

[8] Greenwell (1877), p. 338, Fig. 138.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 337-8.

905025) is reputed to contain 1,300 cairns or barrows[10] and another on Danby Rigg in Eskdale (NZ 710065), probably the best known, has 800[11]. A survey of three cairn groups on the North Yorkshire Moors was undertaken in 1961-63 by the Scarborough Archaeological Society, at Iron Howe SE 528949[12], Hawby Moor SE 537940[13] and the Thompson's Rigg Cairn Group SE 883925[14]. The sepulchral character of many of these small mounds has never been proved beyond all doubt, in spite of the succinct '*Tumuli*' which labels appropriate groups on the Ordnance Survey Maps.[15] Excavations of these small cairns also proved negative results. Canon Atkinson of Danby explored a number of the Danby Rigg cairns[17]. He appears to have found in them flint flakes, charcoal and very rarely sherds of pottery, while Thomas Kendal of Pickering was also disappointed[17]. In 1953 Paul Ashbee scientifically excavated a number of small cairns on Kildale Moor[18]. No artifacts were recovered from in or beneath any of the cairns. Similarly there was no direct evidence of the nature of any interment that may have been beneath them. The only structural feature of a number of these small heaps of stones excavated on the North Yorkshire Moors and on the Cleveland Hills, revealed a tendency for them to have large stones at the core[19].

It has been suggested by Mr. N. Mitchelson[20] that these 'stone heaps' represent the residue of cultivation plot clarance in a stony region, and others have had the same idea. On the summit of Kildale Moor there is a vast quantity of rocks still scattered on and in the ground. While it is admitted that hoe-cultivators might wrest a crop from the poor soil between the rocks, Ashbee believes rock clearance upon the scale implied by the cairns would not, even today, make a sufficient difference to agricultural conditions as to be worth the expenditure of labour.

Greenwell's view regarding the small cairns[21] was that these monuments had originally covered unaccompanied inhumations, placed on the ground surface. Owing to the light covering of stones there would have been, he thought, rapid decomposition not only of the corpse but ultimately of the bones, without leaving any visible trace. He believed that, had cremations been beneath the small cairns, traces would have been discovered. At Eston Nab Camp, Cleveland (NZ 569184), Elgee found cremations, unturned and in good order, just below the present surface[22]. There is no independent evidence for these cairns but neither is there at present any evidence that they are other than Bronze Age.[23]

According to Greenwell's account, the construction of the round barrow had an inner mound with a capping mound constructed on top of it. However several of Greenwell's barrows that have so far been re-excavated on the Yorkshire Wolds[24], Southern

---

[10] Elgee, F., *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire* (1930), p. 99.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 99, Fig. 44.

[12] Hayes, R. H., in McDonnell, J. Edit., *A History of Helmsley Rievaulx and District* (1963), p. 39, Fig. V, Plate IV (b).

[13] Hayes, R. H., & Rutter, J. G., 'The Survey of Two Cairn Groups on the North Yorkshire Moors', *Trans. Scarborough Archaeological & Historical Soc.*, Vol. 3, No. 18, (1975), pp. 14-6, Fig. 1.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-8, Fig. 2.

[15] Ordnance Survey, *Field Archaeology in Great Britain* (1973), pp. 1-4.

[16] Atkinson, J. C., 'Further Researches in Cleveland Grave-Hills', *Gents Mag.*, Vol xiv., (1863), pp. 708-13.

[17] Atkinson, J. C., *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish* (1891), p. 253.

[18] Ashbee, P., 'Excavations on Kildale Moor North Riding of Yorkshire, 1953', *Y.A.J.*, XL (1953), pp. 179-92.

[19] Ashbee, P., *The Bronze Age Round Barrow in Britain* (1960), p. 41.

[20] *Arch. Newsletter,* 4 (No. 8), p. 128.

[21] Greenwell (1877), pp. 420-1.

[22] Elgee (1930), pp. 152-6, Figs. 52 and 53.

[23] Spratt. D. A., and Simmons, I. G., 'Prehistoric Activity and Environment on the North York Moors', *Journal of Archaeological Science* (1976), 3, pp. 201-3, Fig. 4.

[24] Pacitto, A. L., 'Rudston Barrow LXII: The 1967 Excavation' *Y.A.J.*, 44 (1972), pp. 1-21.

Moorlands[25] and West Yorkshire,[26] have been found not to tally with earlier descriptions. Recent barrow excavations on the Wolds and Southern Moorlands[27] had several structural features in common. Thirteen out of eighteen Bronze Age round barrows had a well-defined inner mound, or cairn with a capping mound constructed on top of it during a single stage of building activity. On the Hambleton Hills almost all the barrows have been dug into and records of openings or finds in them are rarer than the undisturbed barrows. A Bronze Age round barrow on Oldstead Moor is compatible in construction and date to the one Greenwell excavated. This barrow was excavated in 1910 by John Sanders,[28] the mound was constructed of an outer capping of gravelly soil with an inner mound of selected soil and gravel. The primary burial of a large Collared Urn was found in the centre in an upright position which contained cremated human bones, packed round the urn was a heap of stones and clay. When Sanders excavated the barrow it was 12.8 m in diameter and 1.7 m high, but today it is ploughed down in a cultivated field.

Denny's accounts of other barrows excavated on the Hambletons by Johnson, Murrary and Verity[29] during the last century are ambiguous and lacking in detail. The fragments of three Beakers[30] that have survived from one of the barrows that Denny re-dug after Johnson on Hambleton Mosses in 1864[31] were in a central cairn and accompanied skeletons. The structural features of an inner mound with a capping mound constructed on top may also apply to this barrow. The inner cairn being constructed of flat limestone with a capping mound of soil and limestone. Two secondary burials are also recorded, one on the north side and the other on the east side. Associated with this barrow were more than one archaeological phase. This barrow was reported by the writer in 1973[32] has been probably one of two large barrows in cultivated fields south-east of Hesketh Hall. A detailed survey of the Hambleton Hills in 1976 by the writer revealed the correct site north of High Barn at SE 507868. When Denny excavated this round barrow it was 15 m in diameter and 1 m high, the barrow has since been ploughed down.

More recently a round barrow was excavated in 1961 prior to deep ploughing on Hambleton Down by 'Tot' Lord at SE 511/2850/1.[33] A trench cut through the mound revealed a crouched skeleton at the centre accompanied by a Primary Southern beaker[34] stone tools and flints. It is unfortunate that such a recent excavation does not have plans or sections and the construction of the barrow is not recorded. To-day the barrow is almost completely ploughed down.

In comparison the two Bronze Age round barrows enclosed in the ramparts of the promontory fort on Boltby Scar, had inner turf mounds. These barrows are the only ones to be scientifically excavated on the Hambleton Hills.[35] The small barrow approximately 7.5m in diameter, with a maximum height of 1m, seems originally to have consisted of a mound of turf encircled by stones set at intervals. The barrow had been disturbed by a large pit at the centre, the primary burial was found in a central pit packed round with yellow clay, it was a large Collared Urn which contained a cremation. The larger barrow had been disturbed on at least two occasions, once by a large pit at the centre, no burials were found, but sherds of Bronze Age pottery were found in the refilled disturbed pit.

---

[25] Brewster, T. C. M., 'Two Bronze Age Barrows in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.*, 45 (1973), pp. 72-5.

[26] Pacitto, A. L., 'The Excavation of Two Bronze Age Burial Mounds at Ferry Fryston in the West Riding of Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.*, XLII (1969), pp. 295-300.

[27] Brewster (1973), pp. 73-4.

[28] Varley, R. A., 'Bronze Age Round Barrows and Adjacent Earthworks on the Hambleton Hills', *Y.A.J.*, 51 (1979), pp. 141-145.

[29] Denny (1865), pp. 491-501.

[30] Varley, R. A., 'Three Beakers from the Hambleton Hills, N.R.', *Y.A.J.*, 45 (1973), pp. 169-72, Fig. 2 : 1-3.

[31] Denny (1865), p. 490.

[32] Varley (1973), p. 169.

[33] Smith, M., 'A Beaker Burial from Hambleton Moor', *Ryedale Historian* No. 9 (1978), pp. 22-8.

[34] Clarke, D. L., *Beaker Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland* (1970), pp. 197-209.

[35] The late Mr. G. F. Willmot directed the excavations in 1938 with men from the Oxfordshire University Camp. A full report on the two barrows is in preparation.

Approximately 5m to the south-east of Greenwell's barrow is the Casten Dike north, which runs north-east from the cliff face of the escarpment and borders the Kilburn Moor coniferous plantation. It appears at intervals only to end in Flasen Gill at 259m O.D. on the cliff edge. This cross ridge work boundary appears to over run the Cleave Dike, though this may be doubtful. This Dike is the longest linear earthwork on the Hambleton Hills. Dr. Spratt has made a study of this Dike which is presented elsewhere in this volume. Some 76m to the south of the Casten Dike north is the Casten Dike south, which begins on the escarpment edge at Knowlson's Drop, runs south-east into a deep gulley and emerges to gradually fade out in Hell Hole. In 1969 Mr. Pacitto excavated two trenches across its bank and ditch. These revealed part of the defences of a large Iron Age hillfort[36] covering some 50 acres. South-east of the cairn and barrow, and the Cleave Dike is the Hambleton Street, possibly a prehistoric track[37] aligned roughly north-south along the Hambleton Hills. It is not intended to discuss the dating of these adjacent earthworks in relationship to the barrows and cairns on the Hambleton Hills, only to remark upon the importance of their presence.

The Primary Urn (Fig. 3:1) is tripartite, having a pinched-out shoulder cordon which stands close to the Fengate biconical form, but shows some divergent developments.[38] The urn has two of the formal traits distinguished by Longworth[39] as representative of his Primary Series of the Collared Urns, no. 265, 3, simple pointed, flattened rim and 4, collar form straight external surface. He demonstrated that certain traits which include twisted cord decoration found on the Primary Series, had their ancestry in the Later Neolithic ceramic tradions of the Peterborough Culture. The multiple pitting that occurs on the neck is a reflection of the characteristic single line of pits placed in the neck of many Mortlake bowls[40] and occasionally in the vestigial necks of Fengate vessels, is a feature which does not appear in pure form in the Primary Series. Multiple pitting on the necks of Primary Urns can be paralleled on urns from Welburn CLI,[41] Ogden,[42] and Thurston, Essex,[43] also from Derbyshire the urn from Hungry Bentley[44] and Stanton Moor[45] which carry a row of jabbed decoration around their shoulder. Longworth demonstrates that urns carrying only two traits are more likely to be late in the Primary Series.

The Secondary Urn (Fig. 3:2) is assigned to Longworth's Secondary Series of Collared Urns.[46] Only two others of this series have survived from the extensive barrow-digging on the Hambleton Hills, from a barrow on Oldstead Moor[47] and Boltby. All three urns retain the use of twisted cord decoration; the Oldstead Moor urn is decorated on the collar in the form of herringbone pattern of twisted cord bordered below the rim and on the shoulder; the Boltby urn is decorated on the collar by twisted cord filled triangles enclosed above and below by two twisted cord lines; on the internal bevel of the rim are two twisted cord lines.

---

[36] Pacitto, A. L., 'Recent Excavations', *Ryedale Historian* No. 5 (1970), p. 72.

[37] Hayes, R. H., 'The Hambleton Street', *Trans. Scarborough & District Arch. Soc.*, III (1960), pp. 21-8.

[38] Smith, I. F., *The decorative art of Neolithic ceramics in South-Eastern England and its relations* (1956). Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. London University.

[39] Longworth, I. H., 'The Origins and Development of the Primary Series in the Collared Urn Tradition in England and Wales', *P.P.S.*, XXVII (1961), pp. 267-8.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[41] Greenwell (1877), pp. 356-7. Longworth (1961), Fig. 12:300.

[42] Varley, R. A., 'A Collared Urn from Ogden, W.R.', *Y.A.J.*, 42 (1968), pp. 126-7, Fig. 1.

[43] Bury St. Edmunds Museum, F.44.

[44] Abercromby, J., *A Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland and its Associated Grave Goods*, II (1912), Fig. 85.

[45] Varley, W. J., 'The Bleasdale Circle', *Ant. J.*, XVIII (1938), p. 169 no. 5.

[46] In terms of conventional chronology, the Collared Urn of 'Pennine' type, a form distinguished by Varley (1938), pp. 162-6, and 169-71, and assigned by Longworth, I. H. in Pacitto (1969), pp. 300-4, to his Secondary Series of Collared Urns.

[47] Varley (1979), pp. 143-5, Fig. 4.

The two Collared Urns from Greenwell's barrow are linked stratigraphically, one belonging to the Primary Series but only possessing two traits, and the other being assigned to the Secondary Series, retaining the use of twisted cord decoration. Longworth suggests that Primary Urns possessing many traits are early in the series, but urns possessing few traits are likely to be late. The relationship of an urn carrying two traits primary to a secondary urn with none can be paralleled at Cross Hands,[48] Carmarthenshire. Similiar relationship are found in North Yorkshire at Slingsby, Hutton Buscel (Greenwell nos. CXLV and CLVII), and from the Yorkshire Wolds at Painsthorpe Wold 98.[49]

The stratigraphical evidence suggests that the general hypothesis is correct and the two urns are unlikely to be far removed in date from each other with the Secondary Urn retaining twisted cord decoration. The Primary Series coming to a close and the Secondary Series beginning by a date not far removed from the latter part of Wessex II Culture expressed in unconverted C14 years is likely to fall within the bracket 1500-1200 B.C. This would suggest that the urns are broadly contemporary and in terms of chronology would belong to the Early/Middle Bronze Age.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS The writer wishes to record his indebtedness to Dr. I. H. Longworth, Keeper, British Museum for facilities to study the Bronze Age Collared Urns, and to the Trustees for permission to publish them.

---

[48] Grimes, W. F., *The Prehistory of Wales* (1951), no. 631.

[49] Mortimer, J. R., *Forty Year Researches in British and Saxon burial mounds of East Yorkshire* (1905), pp. 130-2, Fig. 334 and 335.

THE CLEAVE DYKE SYSTEM

By D. A. Spratt

Summary

The Cleave Dyke System, which lies on the western part of the Hambleton Hills in North Yorkshire, is shown by field and aerial evidence to originate probably in the late Bronze or Iron Age. The system augmented the natural division of the terrain by the river valleys and the watershed, the latter having already been marked by barrows in the Bronze Age. The dyke system was developed earlier than the Hambleton Street and the High Street (A170 road) which seem to have come into use in the Roman and/or Saxon periods. Documents from the twelfth century onward show that some of the dykes and the Hambleton Street continued in use as township boundaries until the present day. The system is similar to others in Yorkshire which also date to the pre-Roman period. Excavation at critical points is necessary for further advance of this study.

. . . .

"The interest and property in the land would be parcelled out into tracts not larger than what is comprised within contiguous ranges of high land, in some cases not more extensive perhaps than the present parishes" Canon Greenwell in *British Barrows* 1877.

. . . .

Introduction

The "Cleave Dyke" is the name of a series of linear ditches and banks which stretch north-south for 9 kilometres parallel and close to the western scarp of the Hambleton Hills, from Sutton Bank to a little north of Steeple Cross (Fig. 1). They are now ploughed and bulldozed over considerable distances, but they were, to judge from present appearances, originally fairly uniform in size, with a ditch about 3.0 metres wide. Several dykes varying in size lie approximately at right angles to the Cleave Dyke, mainly running eastward into the valley heads of the Rye tributaries, forming conspicuous features in the landscape and known by the traditional names Steeple Cross, Hesketh and Casten Dykes. The whole complex is termed in this paper the 'Cleave Dyke System' and is shown in Figure 1, together with contours and place and dyke names. The system may have extended south-east from Sutton Bank to the large Double Dykes which lie north-south across Sproxton Moor, but, as will be seen later, the present evidence for this is not convincing.

The Cleave Dyke System, although accurately surveyed on the O.S. 1:2500 Map of 1892 has only been briefly described twice in the archaeological literature. Denny[1] mentions in 1865 the Cleave Dyke in the vicinity of the Boltby Hill Fort. The fort, he says, "has been protected by a ditch, known by the name of Cleave Dyke extending north and south for about 2 miles". This is not in fact a very good description of the dyke which has, and had in the eighteenth century, a considerable gap in the vicinity of the fort. A general account of the system is given by Hayes[2], who mentions the destruction of the Cleave Dyke by bulldozers for some hundreds of yards north of Sneck Yat, and by ploughing in the section south of Boltby Fort. Slighted by farmers and foresters, neglected by all but a few archaeologists and mainly unscheduled, the Cleave Dyke system needed a detailed study. The work described in this paper comprises field study

---

[1] H. Denny. 'Notice of Early British Tumuli on the Hambleton Hills, near Thirsk', *Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of Yorkshire,* 4, 1859-68, 490-503.

[2] R. H. Hayes. *A History of Helsmley, Rievaulx and District,* York, Stonegate Press, 1963.

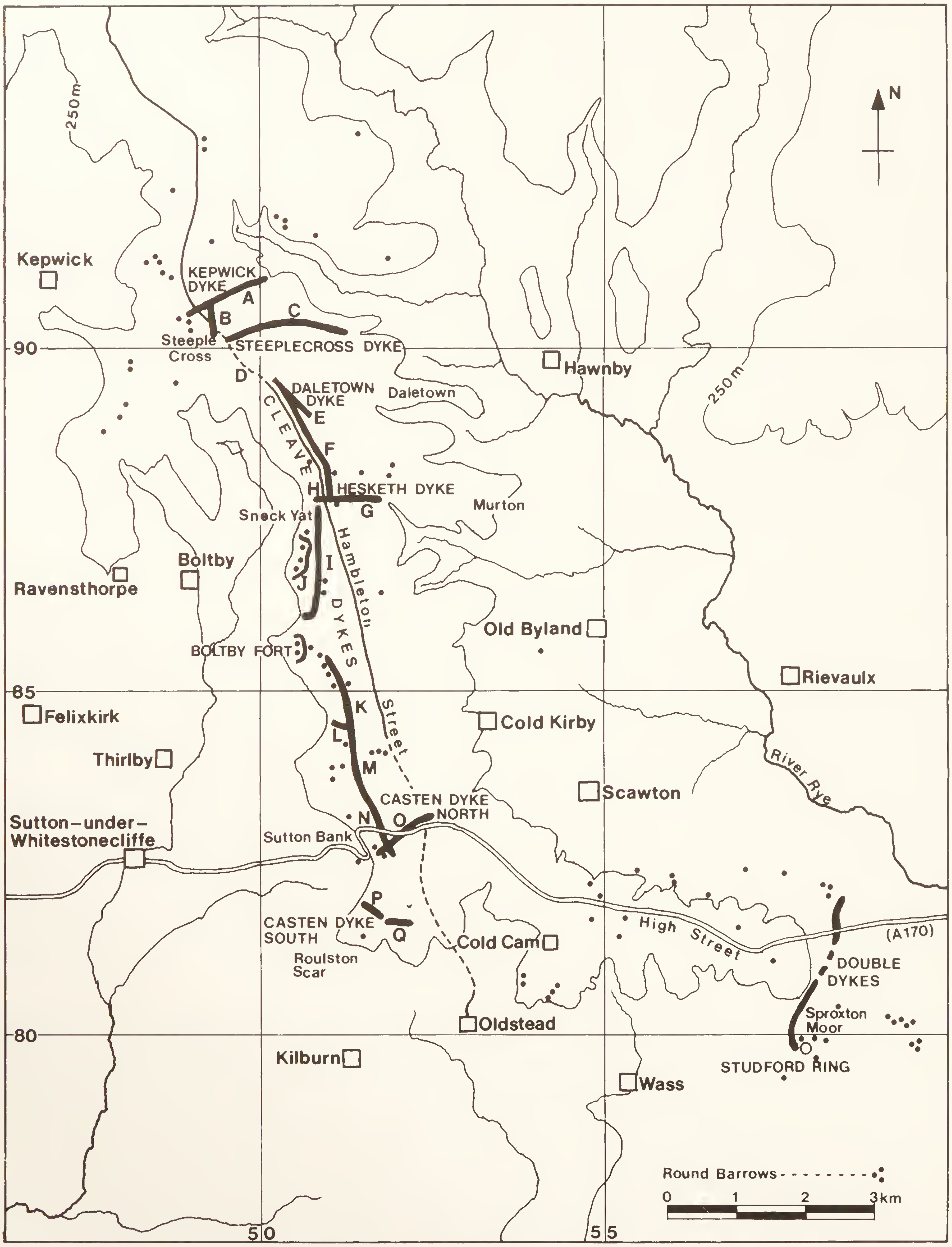


Fig. 1. The Cleave Dyke System.

and survey, aerial photography, soil resistivity survey of a ploughed-out section, a small excavation and a study of historical records. The results are given in the following sections and on the detailed maps Figures 2, 3 and 4 which also include positions of round barrows, contours, present-day township boundaries and roads. The maps also show present-day afforestation, where field work is often least satisfactory and geophysical and aerial techniques virtually impossible.

Early Documents and maps

Parts of the Cleave Dyke System are mentioned in or drawn on the following documents:

(1) 1142. Grant by Roger de Mowbray to the monks of Hood of the town of Byland upon the moor with its church of that town[3]. This document records Hesketh Dyke (Eskeldic) as a northern boundary of the township which subsequently became Old Byland.

(2) 1209. Sale by Robert Fossard (of Sutton) to Emeric, Master of Knights Templars (Cold Kirby) of pasture[4]. This records sale of land between the top of the western scarp of the Hambleton Hills and the Hambleton Street ("the main road leading to Cleveland").

(3) 1209. Sale by Adam of Boltby to Emeric of pasture[5]. The pasture lay between the scarp and the Hambleton Street ("the main road to Cleveland") and was bounded on the north by Ycornesch, a lost place name.

(4) 1246. An agreement between Henry, Abbot of Byland and Nicholas of Boltby[6]. This agreement, which has several parts, grants to the Abbot all lands from Hambleton Street ("the King's Way") eastward to the Rye, between the thorn (spina) of Kirby (Kereby) to Steeple Cross (Stepicross). The Abbot grants to Nicholas all the moor from Hambleton Street to the scarp between Hesketh Dyke (Eskyldyke) and the south side of the wood of Ycornescahghe, "in length as the dykes are made". Nicholas is forbidden to "build or set up dykes" on this land, but this use of 'dyke' probably refers to drystone walls. The lost place Ycornesch or Ycornescahghe must have been on the Hambleton Street, somewhere between Steeple Cross and Sneck Yat. The most likely location is the south-east corner of the present Boltby Forest (SE 502896). Here the head of a tributary valley to Lunshaw Beck runs up the scarp almost to the Hambleton Street, giving an irregular terrain more useful for woodland than grazing or agriculture. There are the foundations of an ancient building here. The place-name Ycornescahghe, which is paralleled by Ickornshaw (Icornesawe 1279) in the West Riding[7], is a compound of ikorn[8] (O.N. a squirrel) and sceaga (O.E. a small wood, a copse, a strip of undergrowth or wood on the edge of cultivated land). Ycornesch may either be an abbreviation or derive from aesc[8] (O.E. an ash tree). The date of origin of the name could be any time after the spread of Norse influence up to 1209[9].

(5) 1598. The dispute between Sir William Bellasis of Murton and Sir Edward Wotton of Old Byland, together with the contemporary map by Christopher Saxton[10]. There is a fascinating outline of this dispute by Beresford[11], who reproduces that part of the

---

[3] W. Farrer (ed) 1916. *Early Yorkshire Charters,* Ballantyne Hanson, Edinburgh, 3, 445.

[4] Surtees Society 1894. *Yorkshire Fines,* Andrews, Durham, 44, 160.

[5] Surtees Society 1894. *Yorkshire Fines,* Andrews, Durham, 44, 161-2.

[6] Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series. *Yorkshire Fines* 1232-1246, 67, 157.

[7] A. H. Smith (1961) *Place names of West Yorkshire* V1, 13. E.P.N.S.

[8] A. H. Smith (1956) *English Place Name Elements* 1, 280.

[9] V. Watts personal communication 5.12.80.

[10] *Discussion of the evidence in the dispute between Sir William Bellasys (defendant) and Sir Edward Wotton (Plaintiff) at Old Byland 1598.* Public Record Office /178/2779 and Map MPB32.

[11] M. W. Beresford (1971) *History on the Ground,* London, Methuen 52-62.

map showing the disputed boundaries. The Hesketh Dyke and the Hambleton Street (Hammelton Rase) are given in the text and on the map, but not the Cleave Dyke itself. One witness, however, mentions another 'Hesketh Dyke' running north from Hesketh Dyke. He surely refers to the Cleave Dyke north of Sneck Yat. Confusion of dyke names is also apparent in the eighteenth century dispute in the following paragraph.

(6) 1695-1795. The dispute between Cold Kirby and Sutton-under-Whitestonecliffe concerning their mutual boundary above Sutton Bank. This bitter dispute, which raged throughout the eighteenth century, is recorded in documents and maps of the Archbishop of York kept in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. The documentation, accompanied by a sketch map, is most voluminous in 1760 when the dispute was at its hottest, and again in 1795, with survey maps, when it was moving toward resolution. The documents show considerable variations in the dyke names, the Casten Dyke being referred to as the Double Dyke or the Cleave Dyke. The dispute illustrates the great value set on the small piece of hill-top pasture and its rights of turbary by a lowland village at this period.

(7) Enclosure and Tithe Maps. Of the townships adjoining the dyke system only Cold Kirby (1789) and Felixkirk with Sutton (1799) were the subjects of formal Parliamentary Enclosure, but the Cold Kirby map is not currently available.and the Felixkirk maps are not informative on the dykes. However, a number of Tithe Maps are available - Kilburn (1829), Oldstead (1846), and Boltby (1847) in the North Yorkshire County Archives at Northallerton, and Old Byland (1846), Felixkirk (1847), Thirlby (1847), Sutton (1847) and Daletown (1847) in the Borthwick Institute, York. With one exception (The Daletown Dyke) the dykes formed part of the township boundaries in the nineteenth century in the same manner as today.

(8) The 1892 Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map. This is by far the most complete and accurate map of the dyke system. In particular it shows those parts of the Cleave Dyke now destroyed, namely a long section north of Sneck Yat and much of the dyke south of Boltby Fort. It does not, however, show the Kepwick or Daletown Dykes (see next section).

Summary of Field, Aerial and Documentary Evidence of the Dykes

aThe capital letters A-Q give the positions of the dykes as marked on Figures 2, 3 and 4. Four dimensions of the dykes are given in metres which represent a typical cross section:

H = height of bank above ground level.
D = depth of ditch below ground level.
B = width of bank.
W = width of ditch

A. The Kepwick Dyke SE 489905 to 501911. This is a linear dyke directed toward tumuli at the western end, terminating in the east in the head of Thorodale. (Air Photo Nos. ANY 70/27:34 ANY 71/1). A dyke crossing at right angles at SE 498909 appears contemporary with the Kepwick Dyke. It has several circular pits (3.6m diameter, up to 1.5m deep) and is much mutilated by quarrying. The Kepwick Dyke is cut by the Hambleton Street (Plate 1) and by the Kepwick-Hawnby road and by their associated hollow-ways, and thus appears to be earlier than both. The bank lies to the north of the ditch, with some counterscarp on the south.
H = 0.5 D = 0.6 B = 3.3 W = 3.6

B. Unnamed dyke at right angles to the Kepwick Dyke running southward from SE 492906 to terminate in the head of Lunshaw Valley at about SE 493901. (Air Photo Nos. ANY 70/25:34 ANY 71/1). It appears contemporary with the Kepwick Dyke

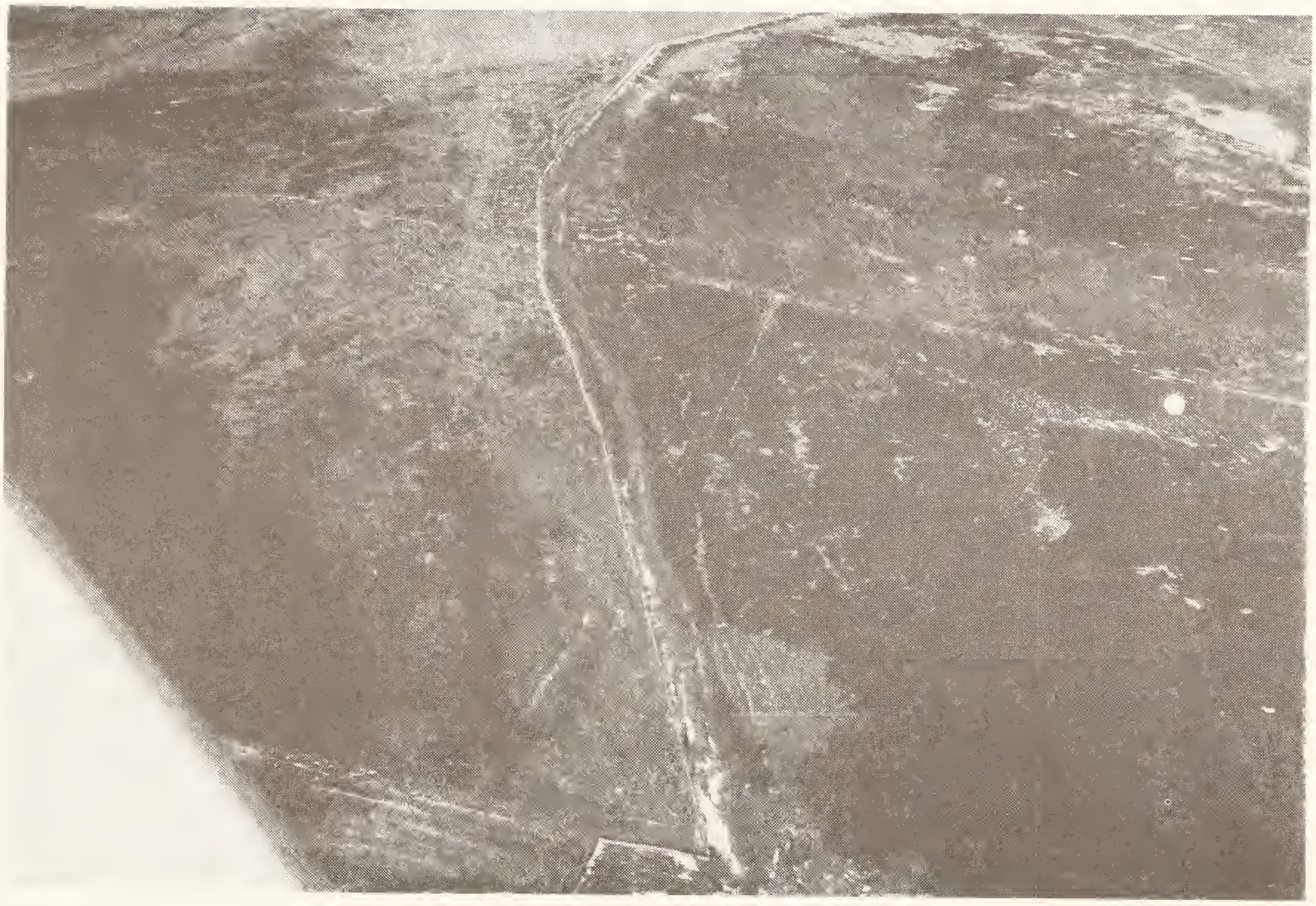


Plate 1. The dykes on Kepwick Moor (left) and Little Moor (rt.) cut by the Hambleton Street curving down the centre of the picture. Steeple Cross is at the bottom centre. *(Photo: Paul Chadwick).*

and is cut by the Hambleton Street and its associated hollow-ways (Plate 1). It has been bulldozed away at its extreme southern end so that its relation to the Kepwick-Steeple Cross track is not clear, nor its relation to the western end of Steeple Cross Dyke. The bank lies to the west of the ditch.

H = 0.4 D = 0.5 B = 2.7 W = 3.7

C. Steeple Cross Dyke SE 494901 to 511902. It is well preserved for its entire length east of Steeple Cross, terminating in the head of Stoney Gill Hole. (Air Photo A.L. Pacitto 30/1:2). To the west of Steeple Cross it is visible but fragmentary, running into the head of Lunshaw Valley. Banks lie on both sides of the ditch

H north = 0.5 B north = 3.0
D = 0.9 W = 3.0
H south = 0.4 B south = 2.4

D. Uncertain dyke from Steeple Cross southward along the eastern fringe of Boltby Forest SE 494902 to 502896. It is impossible to establish this part of the dyke system because of quarrying, forestry and roadway disturbances. The eastern township boundary of Boltby is the forest edge which is marked by a drystone wall standing on a bank and ditch which continue at their southern end as the Daletown Dyke. The Cleave Dyke enters Boltby Forest from the south at SE 502896 but cannot be traced northward more than 30 metres from the point of entry. This whole section thus remains conjectural and it is possible that the dyke did not exist here. The wording of the 1246 agreement tends to support the latter view, as it indicates that the dyke ran as far north as Ycornescahghe, i.e. not the whole distance from Sneck Yat to Steeple Cross.

E. Daletown Dyke SE 502895 to 521884. It is visible as a dyke with the bank to the east of the ditch from SE 502896 to 507890 but does not have an ancient weathered appearance. Although it is at present the Daletown/Murton boundary, it was not so on the 1847 Tithe Map. There is nothing visible along the township boundary in the field from SE 507890 to 512887, where it continues as a trackway as it descends into the head of Peak Scar Gill
H = 0.4 D = 0.5 B = 3.0 W = 1.8

F. Cleave Dyke from SE502896 to 509878 at Sneck Yat. This dyke is preserved on the east side of Hambleton Street in the northern part, but is bulldozed away in the south. The full length is shown on the 1892 O.S. map and the south end was mentioned in 1598. A possible spur to the west showed as a cropmark at SE 506888 in 1979. The bank, partly bulldozed away on the western edge, lies to the west of the ditch.
H = 0.6 D = 0.5 B = 1.5 W = 3.3

G. Hesketh Dyke from SE 509878 to 518878. This is a well preserved massive earthwork with the bank to the south of the ditch and a counter-scarp bank in the sector to the east of Silver Hill Barrow. The bank is very large to the west of the barrow, whereas to the east the bank is much smaller. The dyke is not now visible in the angle between the Hawnby road and the Hambleton Street, through it is marked here on the 1892 map. The Hesketh Dyke is mentioned in the documents of 1142, 1246 and 1598.
West of Silver Hill H = 1.7 D = 1.0 B = 14.0 W = 6.0
East of Silver Hill H south = 0.2 B south = 2.00
D = 1.1 W = 7.5
H north = 0.2 B north = 1.5

H. Hesketh Dyke from SE 509878 to SE 508878. The dyke is preserved at its eastern end which projects into the Hambleton Street, and on the scarp edge at the western end. It is ploughed out but faintly visible between these points. The bank lies to the north of the ditch. The different relative positions of bank and ditch of sections G and H were mentioned by a witness in the 1598 dispute.
H = 0.35 D = 1.1 B = 3.9 W = 3.7

I. Cleave Dyke from SE 09878 to 508861. The ditch was detected by excavation in Sneck Yat plantation. It is not visible in the pasture field south of this, except as a very faint line on air photographs, (Air Photo No. ANY 65/5), but soil resistivity measurements described below showed it to lie on the dotted line given on the 1892 map. Southward from this field it was visible as a barley cropmark in 1979 (ANY 63/3.7.8 ANY 65/4.5) (Plate 2) from SE 508871 to 508863. It can just be traced on the ground in the pasture field from SE 508863 to 608861 where it emerges from the field to the front of the scarp and is visible as a ditch.

J. Unnamed and previously unreported linear earthwork parallel to and 100 metres west of Cleave Dyke from SE 507871 to 506865 (ANY 63/3.7.8 ANY 65/4.5). This was visible as a barley cropmark in 1979 (Plate 2) It emerges on the front of the scarp at both its northern and southern ends, where it runs well down the scarp face. There is a line of four barrows along this length of scarp, three of which are previously unrecorded.

There is a gap in the Cleave Dyke, probably original, from SE 508861 to 510854.

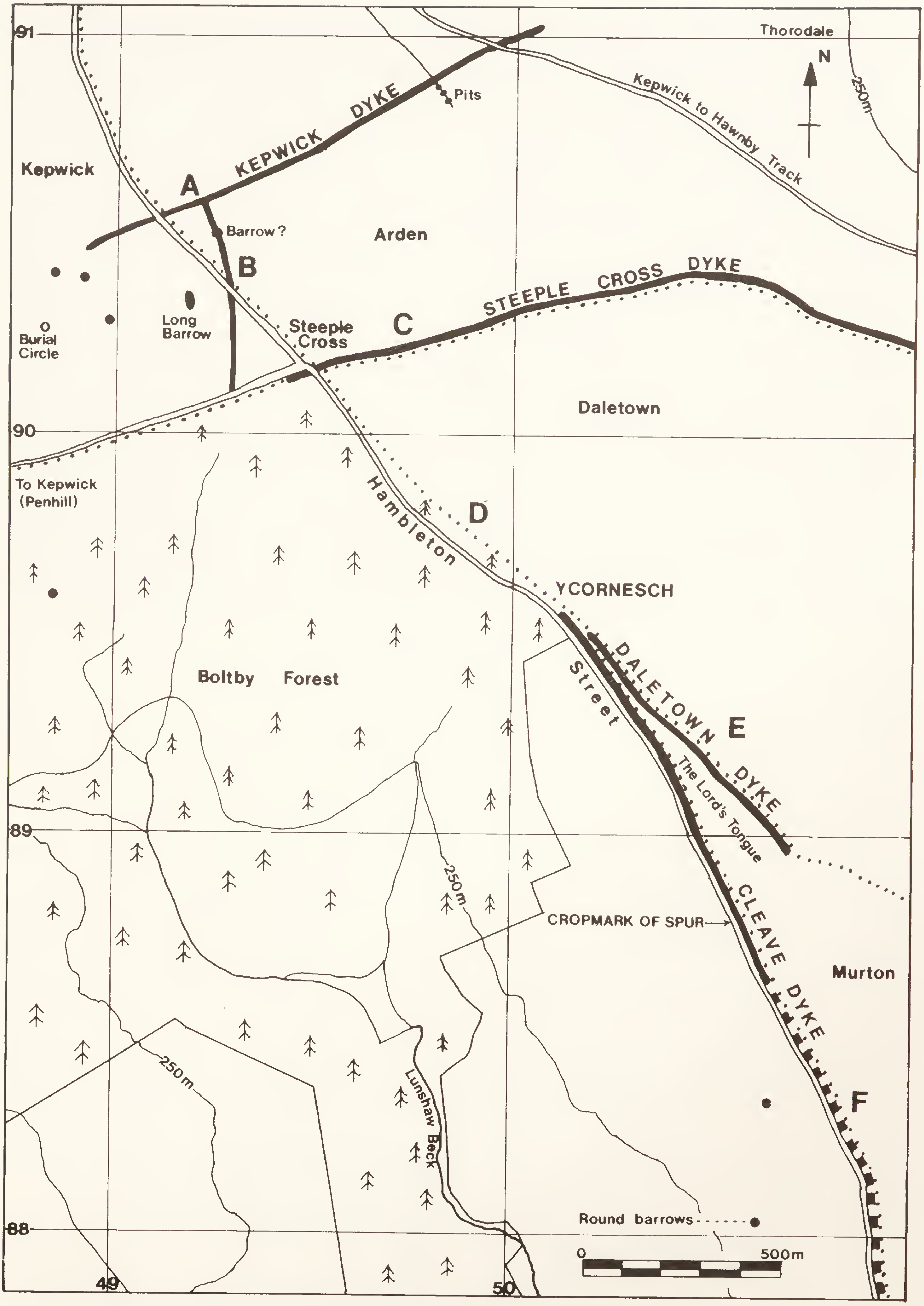


Fig. 2. The Cleave Dyke System: Northern Sector.

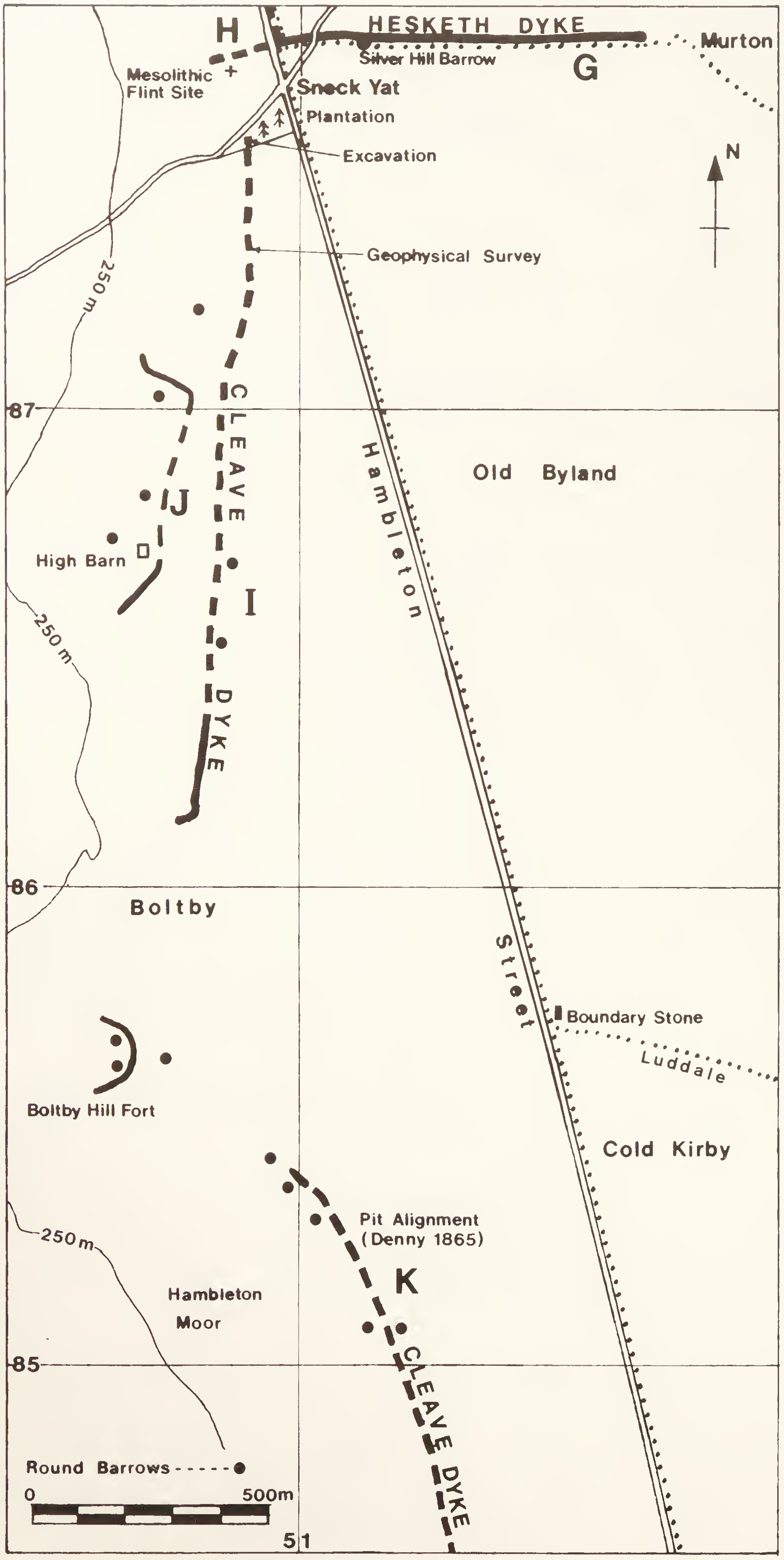


Fig. 3. The Cleave Dyke System: Central Sector.

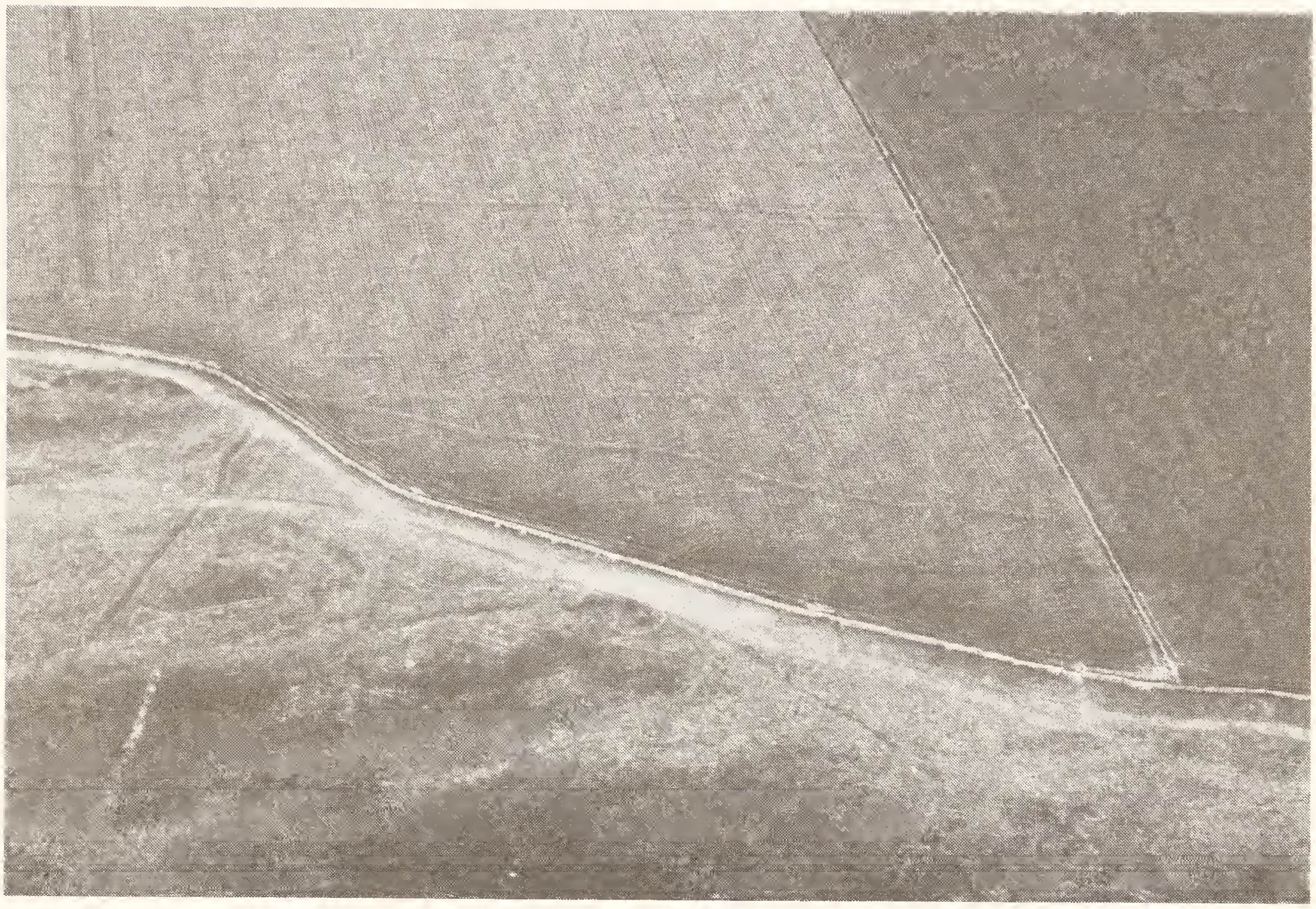


Plate 2. In the foreground is the scarp 400m. S. of Sneck Yat; beyond are fields on the flat ground at the top of the scarp (carrying a barley crop in 1979). The cropmark of Section I of the Cleave Dyke runs horizontally across the top of the photograph and parallel to it, near the wall dividing the scarp from the fields, is the cropmark of the unnamed dyke, Section J. On the left of the picture this dyke emerges onto the scarp, where it survives as a ditch and bank. Other lines running horizontally across the field are cropmarks of natural fissures, called 'gulls' by geologists. *(Photo: Paul Chadwick).*

K. Cleave Dyke from SE 510854 to 513840. It is shown on the 1795 and 1892 maps and has been visible many times as a cropmark since its destruction in the 1960s and many air photographs show its northern termination (e.g. ANY 63/10.14) which is also shown on the 1760 map. This map shows the Cold Kirby/Old Byland boundary running eastward as a dyke from the north end of Cleave Dyke into Luddale, but there is no sign of a ditch here at the present time, only a drystone wall in the head of Luddale. This boundary through Luddale to the tumuli on the Cleave Dyke is described in the 1142 agreement. There were tumuli near the dyke at SE 509854, 509853, 510852, 511850, 512850 and 512842; only the second and third survive.

L. Spur running westward from SE 513844 to 510845. This is shown on the 1892 map. It was ploughed out in the 1960s and is now visible as a cropmark (ANY 63/9 and ANY 65/7).

M. Cleave Dyke from SE 513840 to 516833. The dyke is visible in the pasture field almost its entire length. The bank undulates along some of its length as though reflecting the construction of a pit alignment. The dyke is visible as a cropmark for the 100 metres of its southern tip (ANY 63/18). It is given on the 1795 map. The banks are on both sides of the ditch.

H east = 0.2 B east = 2.4
D = 0.8 W = 3.3
H west = 0.3 B west = 2.7

N. Cleave Dyke from SE 516833 to its southern termination at 520827, 130 metres to the south-east of its intersection with Casten Dyke North. It is clearly visible in the forest up to its end, which is shown as such on the 1795 map. The Cleave Dyke is cut by Casten Dyke North and is therefore the earlier of the two. There are banks on both sides of the ditch in places.

H north = 0.5 B north = 2.1
D = 0.5 W = 2.7
H south = 0.5 B south = 3.0

O. Casten Dyke North from SE 517826 to 526832. This is a well preserved earthwork from the scarp at 517826 to the A170 road at 521829. There is a tumulus at the scarp and one in the line of the dyke at 518827. North of the A170 road the dyke becomes fragmentary but Hayes and the 1795 map show it running to the old line of Hambleton Street at SE 526832, at the head of Flassendale. Casten Dyke North is frequently mentioned in the 18th century documents as the northern boundary of Kilburn. There are banks on both sides of the ditch.

H east = 0.3 B east = 3.0
D = 0.7 W = 3.0
H west = 0.4 B west = 3.3

P. Casten Dyke South from SE 515818 to 517817. This earthwork has been flattened across the airfield of the Yorkshire Gliding Club. It was excavated by Pacitto who showed it to be a timber-laced rampart[12]. It is still clearly visible at the western scarp and also at its eastern end to the south-east of the club buildings, whence it continues as a berm into the valley leading to Kilburn.

H = 0.5 D = 1.3 B = 11.0 W = 7.8
(measurements at the western end)

Q. Casten Dyke South from SE 518816 to 522816. A well preserved earthwork along its entire length. The bank lies to the south of the ditch.

H = 0.6 D = 0.9 B = 4.2 W = 3.0

If we accept that Section P was the rampart of a promontory fort, then the gap between dykes O and Q has a resemblance to the gap in the Cleave Dyke near the Bolton Fort, both allowing access to the forts from the east.

Geophysical work

The object of the geophysical work was to check the line of the Cleave Dyke in the field immediately to the south of Sneck Yat plantation, (Section I), where it was shown as a dotted line on the 1892 map. There was some uncertainty because there are several ditches running north-south through the plantation, any of which, to judge from surface appearances, could have been the line of the dyke. It was important to establish this line correctly, for it determined the relation of the Cleave Dyke to the Hesketh Dyke and to the Boltby-Hawnby road. In the event, the 1892 line was confirmed, both by the geophysical work described in Appendix A, and by the excavation below.

Excavation

A section was taken of the Cleave Dyke in Sneck Yat plantation at SE 509876 on the line indicated by the geophysical work. The ditch was 4 metres wide at the surface of the

---

[12] A. L. Pacitto (1970) *Archaeological Excavations* 1969, 15, HMSO.

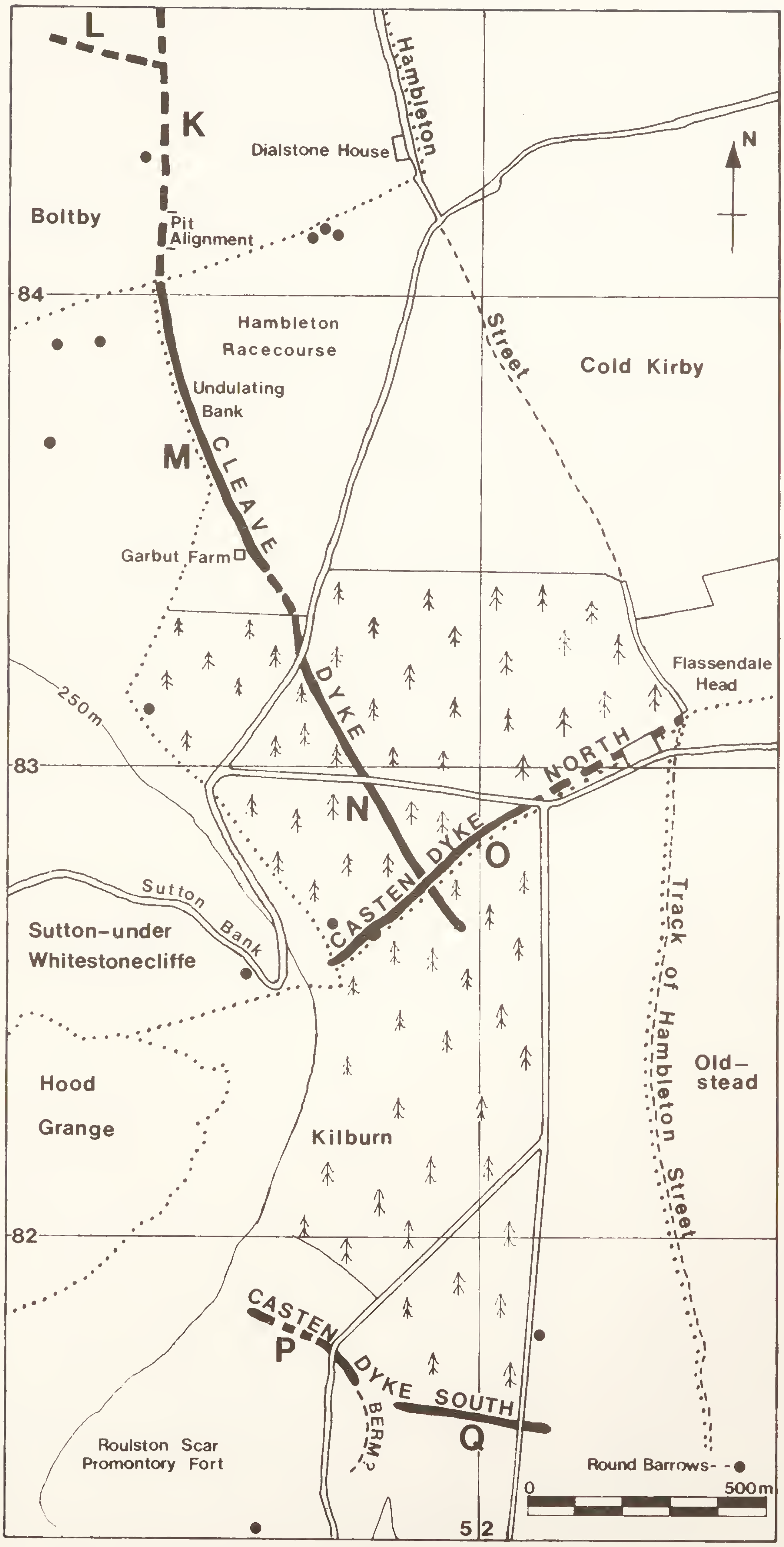


Fig. 4. The Cleave Dyke System: Southern Sector.

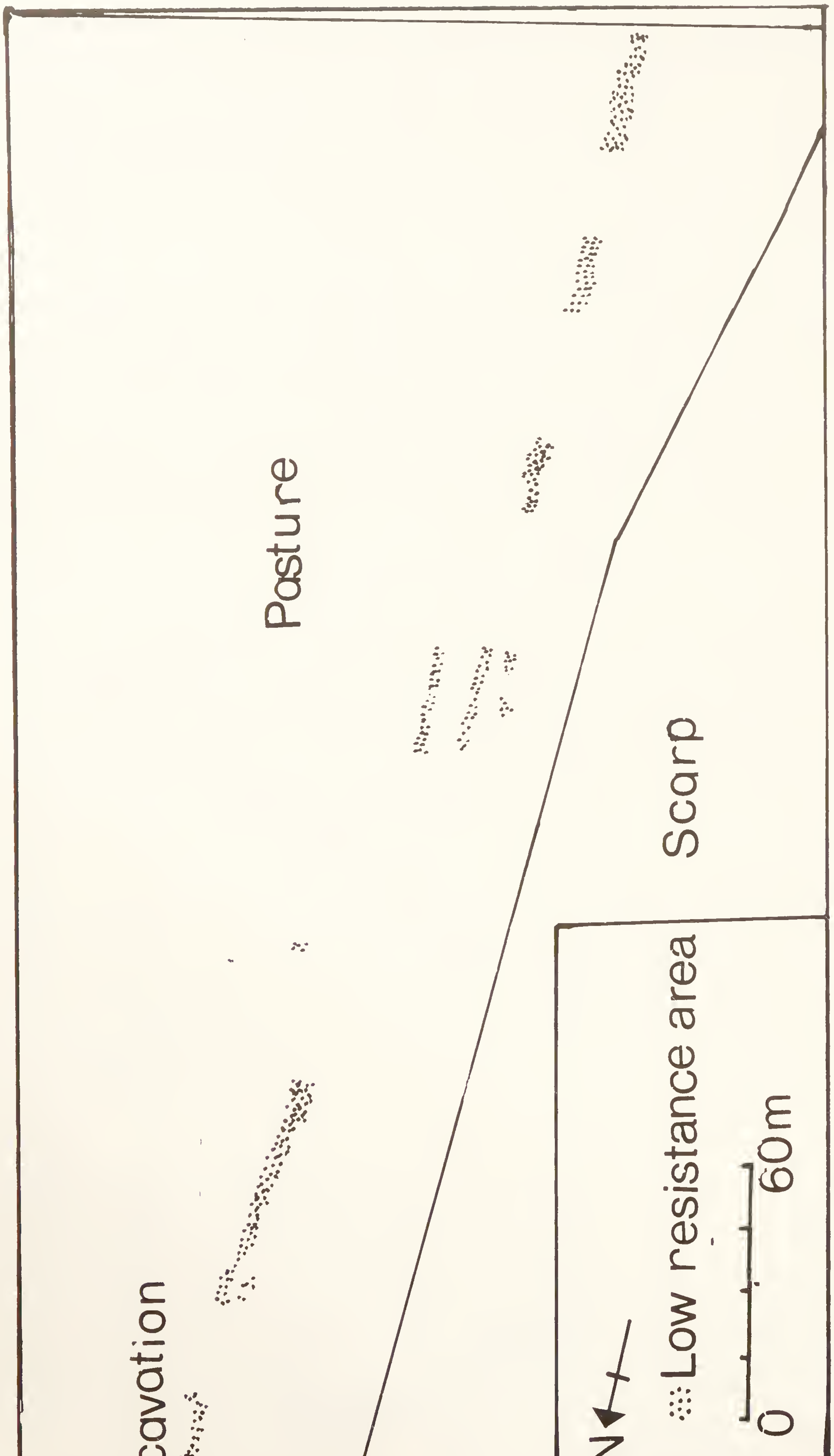


Fig. 5. Resistivity Survey at Sneck Yat and position of excavation in Sneck Yat Plantation.

rock outcrop (Calcareous Grit) and 2 metres deep at the centre. The fill was sandy silt with many pieces of rock, a few of which were reddened by fire down to 1.7 metres. There was no bank, but on the western side was a layer of flat stones 2 metres wide which might have been a footing. Below the ditch a natural fault in the rock 1 metre wide was followed to a depth of 3.25 metres. This fault might throw some doubt on the authenticity of this section of the dyke, but it seems to be in all probability genuine, lying on the line shown by the geophysical work. Sections of other linear depressions in Sneck Yat plantation proved negative or, near the Hambleton Street, a hollow way.

Discussion

Before making an interpretation of the evidence, it is well to state its limitations. First, the survey has been almost entirely confined to observations of surface appearances which may be inadequate especially at the points of intersection of dykes or of dykes with tracks, roads and round barrows. Sometimes dykes were converted into tracks and developed into roads and where this happened it is often impossible to trace the original dyke without excavation because it has become so confused by the spread of mediaeval hollow ways in the vicinity. Further, dykes may have been filled in rather than silted up, and may not show even as cropmarks. The problems of air photography are well known; large areas of limestone can surprisingly be almost devoid of cropmarks[13]. In addition, the aerial photography in this project has been limited to three seasons which may not be sufficient to reveal all the buried features. Survival of early documentation is fortuitous and can mislead, for example when dyke names are confused, and because "dyke" can mean either a ditch-and-bank or a drystone wall. For these reasons it is not always possible to prove interpretations beyond all doubt and in these cases it is necessary to take the most probable explanation in the light of all the facts available.

Geology of the dykes

The whole of the Cleave Dyke system as defined in the following paragraph lies on the Corallian limestone except for 800 metres in the vicinity of Sneck Yat where Section H and parts of F, G and I lie on the Corallian sandstone. The southern 400 metres of Section I also lies on the sandstone.

The Limits and Authenticity of the Dyke System

We now believe that the northern limit of the system is the Kepwick Dyke, (Section A) which has not previously been recorded as such. It appears to be older than the Hambleton Street; it is aligned on barrows at its western end and runs into the valley head at Thorodale, a characteristic position for early dykes such as the Hesketh and Casten Dyke North. Northward from the Kepwick Dyke the terrain rises and becomes more inhospitable and no dykes have been found in this area. There are two possible southern limits of the system, the Double Dykes on Sproxton Moor or the Casten Dyke North (Section O). If the former is the case then it might be postulated that the A170 road (The High Street), which runs along the watershed, lies on the line of the spine of a dyke system, with north-south dykes spaced out at intervals. It is not, however, possible to prove this by field work. For example there are banks and ditches along the Wass/Oldstead parish boundary, which runs south from the A170 road at SE 547819 past Cold Cam Farm, but it is not possible without excavation to prove that they formed part of an ancient dyke system. And there is a similar difficulty with the banks and ditches parallel to the A170 road where it diverges from the Wass/Scawton parish boundary between SE 553818 and 569813. Furthermore the area between Casten Dyke North and the Double Dykes is an outcrop of the Corallian Sandstone which forms a less fertile soil and carries less arable farming than the Corallian Limestone in the vicinity of Cleave Dyke. Ancient earthworks should have survived better on the sandstone area. We must therefore conclude on present evidence that the southern limit of the system was the Casten Dyke North, or to be precise, the short section of the Cleave Dyke which projects 130 metres south eastward from the point where the Casten Dyke cuts it. The Double Dykes themselves might be considered as a possible western tribal boundary of the Parisi, for to the west of it there are no square barrows, which are thought to be characteristic of Parisian territory. The boundary might then have continued up the Rye Valley and thence eastward along the northern edge of the limestone scarp, as proposed by Ramm[14].

---

[13] D. N. Riley (1890) *Early landscape from the Air*, Sheffield University, 7.

There appear to be three original discontinuities in the Cleave Dyke.

(1) There is a gap of some 770 metres in the vicinity of Boltby Fort, as already described.

(2) There is a displacement or "dog leg" at Sneck Yat, where Section F of the dyke coming southward terminates on the east of the Hambleton Street, and Section I continues south of the Boltby-Hawnby road on a line 100 metres west of the Hambleton Street.

(3) We do not know whether the dyke was dug southward from Steeple Cross to the south-east corner of Boltby Forest (Section D). If the dyke did exist in this section, then there was a displacement at Steeple Cross similar to that at Sneck Yat, because the dyke running north to Kepwick Dyke lies 170 metres to the west of Steeple Cross. If the dyke did not exist, there is a large gap in the system at Section D. Such unexplained gaps are not unusual in early dyke systems, and it is generally thought that natural barriers such as woodland must have existed at the time the dyke was made.

There is little doubt about the authenticity of the Cleave, Kepwick, Steeple Cross, Hesketh and Casten Dykes as ancient earthworks, but there must be some uncertainty about the Daletown Dyke near the south-corner of Boltby Forest. It does not have an ancient weathered appearance and although it forms the present Daletown/Murton boundary, it was not so on the 1847 Tithe Map. Nor is it associated with round barrows. However, it is a southward continuation of the ditch and bank on the east of Boltby Forest, which is undoubtedly the ancient Boltby/Daletown boundary, and the name of the triangular strip bounded by the Daletown Dyke on the east, 'The Lords Tongue', suggests an old use of the boundary. Possibly the line of the old boundary was made into a dyke when it was adopted as a township boundary within the past century, and there must remain a considerable doubt whether it is an authentic ancient earthwork.

Relation of the dykes with the landscape

The Cleave Dyke itself lies close to the north-south watershed of the Hambleton Hills for almost the whole of its length. The west-east dykes run from the line of the Cleave Dyke on the watershed eastward into the heads of valleys tributary to the Rye, often in positions marked by round barrows. There was however no dyke running eastward from the north end of Section K of the Cleave Dyke near Boltby Fort, although the southern boundary of Old Byland ran along this line at least since 1142. The probable reason is that the boundary lies in the bottom of Luddale which is a long narrow valley reaching up almost to the watershed and forming a clear natural boundary. Dyke systems comprising a spinal dyke following the line of a watershed with others branching off at intervals into the valley heads are found elsewhere in Yorkshire, particularly along the northern edge of the Wolds in East Yorkshire. The layout of dykes on Birdsall Wold to the west of Wharram Percy follows this pattern, where there is a close association of the dykes with round barrows, similar to that of the Cleave Dyke system.

---

[14] H. Ramm (1978) *The Parisi*, London, Duckworth.

Relations of the dykes with round barrows

The positions of the dykes are related to round barrows in two quite definite ways:

(a) a dyke incorporates and cuts through a barrow. The one certain example is the Casten Dyke North (Section 0) which slices a round barrow at SE 518827, and there may be another in Section B at SE 493905. Incorporation of barrows in linear dykes in Berkshire has been reported by Bradley.

(b) a dyke incorporates and changes character at a round barrow. This occurs at Hesketh Dyke (Section G), which has a different character to the west of Silver Hill Barrow, compared with the east, suggesting that the barrow was a marker when the dyke was built. An excavation would be necessary to prove conclusively that the barrow pre-dates the dyke.

Less certain associations of the dykes and the round barrows are:

(c) a dyke appears to be aligned on round barrows. Kepwick Dyke (Section A) is an example. This is a feature of linear dykes in Berkshire, particularly Grim's Ditch[14].

(d) a dyke alters direction near a barrow. This occurs at the north end of Section K just to the south of Boltby Fort. This phenomenon is a characteristic of the Wessex linear boundaries[15].

(e) barrows lie closely alongside the dyke. There are eight barrows close to the Cleave Dyke between Sneck Yat and Sutton Bank (Sections I, K, M). This kind of association is frequent in Yorkshire and elsewhere.

There seems also to be a relation between the small unnamed dyke south of Sneck Yat (Section J), and the four round barrows on the scarp in its vicinity. This is the only place where the Cleave Dyke is duplicated, and the only example of barrows along the scarp edge.

The excavation records of the barrows in the area have recently been reviewed by Smith[16] and Varley[17]. The pottery from the single barrows in the vicinity comprises beakers from High Barn and Hambleton Moor, a food vessel(?) from Sutton Bank, and urns from Whitestone Cliff, Kilburn and Oldstead Moors. It is reasonable therefore to date the barrows as broadly Bronze Age, before the cessation of urn cremations in 1400 B.C. There is doubt only about Silver Hill barrow from which Denny[18] recovered a bone ring, which does not seem very consistent with a Bronze Age date of that inhumation, though from the vague description it might be a belt-ring of the Beaker period. We may conclude that the dykes are later than the barrows and could date to any time after about 1400 B.C. The dykes do not seem to represent a different territorial system from that of the Bronze Age, rather they seem to be a development of it. There is evidence for thinking that the Bronze Age barrows on the watersheds of the North York Moors marked the natural watershed boundaries, and this, together with the boundaries provided by streams and valleys, served to delimit the Bronze Age farming estates[19]. In the Cleave Dyke system we seem to have a development of the earlier system, with the Cleave Dyke supplementing the watershed barrows and the west-east dykes emphasising and continuing the stream boundaries from the valley heads westward to the watershed. No Celtic field systems survive in this area, neither have they shown as cropmarks. We do not know therefore whether the dykes transgress the early fields as in Wessex[20].

---

[15] D. J. Bonney 'Early fields and land allotments in Wessex', in (H. C. Bowen and P. J. Fowler *eds) Early land allotment,* British Archaeological Report, 48, 60.

[16] M. Smith (1978) 'A Beaker burial from Hambleton Moor', *Ryedale Historian* 9, 22-27.

[17] R. W. Varley (1979) 'Bronze Age Round Barrows and Adjacent Earthworks on the Hambleton Hills', *YAJ* 51, 141-145.

Relation of the dykes to each other

The Cleave Dyke, having three discontinuities is in four sections. The evidence for their being contemporary is that they make little sense in isolation, and that they are fairly uniformly constructed. Only the intersection of Casten Dyke North with the Cleave Dyke is sufficiently clear on the surface to deduce their relative age. The Casten Dyke North cuts the Cleave Dyke and must be later. However, the 130 metre extension of the Cleave Dyke beyond the Casten Dyke is not a useful boundary. This projection possibly represents a slight misjudgement of the future line of the Casten Dyke, which implies that it was in mind when the Cleave Dyke was dug, and was constructed not long afterwards. The other west-east dykes are of varying sizes, the largest being the shortest (Hesketh Dyke). They also do not make sense in isolation and the most likely conclusion is that the whole dyke system was broadly contemporary and divided up the landscape into discrete units.

Relation with the Boltby Fort

Hayes[20] has commented on the similarity of the Boltby Fort ramparts with the dyke system. The large gap in the Cleave Dyke in the vicinity of the fort, presumably to allow unrestricted access from the east, is an indication that the fort and dyke were in use at the same time. A similar relation exists with the Roulston Scar Promontory Fort at the south end of the dyke system. Willmot's excavation of the Boltby Fort[21] yielded a large flat-rimmed coarse sherd, which Challis and Harding[22] suggest can be dated to the first half of the first millenium B.C., by comparison with a similar sherd from Mam Tor, Derbyshire. It therefore seems possible that the fort and the dyke system may have been in use early in the first millenium B.C., responses to the increasing population pressure in terms both of defence and territorial demarcation.

Relation with roads and tracks

The most ancient tracks are likely to be those running up and down the western scarp and those leading eastward to the Rye Valley, for in pre-historic and historic periods there have been integrated lowland/upland economies and good access between them was therefore important at all times. On the western scarp the roads and main tracks are restricted to the nabs which jut out westward from the unstable bays created by the landslips, and of these the two most important are the Boltby-Hawnby Road, and the Kepwick (Penhill) - Steeple Cross track. Both have deep hollow-ways and both have mesolithic/neolithic flint sites where they reach the top of the watershed at Sneck Yat and Steeple Cross respectively. A 'dog-leg' discontinuity of the Cleave Dyke lies on the Boltby-Hawnby road at Sneck Yat and gives the appearance that the dyke builders may

---

19. D. A. Spratt (1981), 'Prehistoric Boundaries on the North York Moors', in G. W. Barker (ed.), *Prehistoric Communities in Northern England,* Sheffield University.
20. H. C. Bowen (1975), A view of the Wessex Landscape', in P. J. Fowler (ed.), *Recent Work in Rural Archaeology*. Bradford on Avon, Moonraker Press.
21. G. F. Willmot (1939), *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 5, 320.
22. A. J. Challis and D. W. Harding (1975), *Later Prehistory from the Trent to the Tyne*. BAR 20.

have been reluctant to interrupt the track by crossing it with dykes. Thus the early tracks up the scarp may pre-date the dyke system.

The Hambleton Street cuts through Sections A and B of the dykes north of Steeple Cross (Plate 1). At Sneck Yat the eastern part of Section H (Hesketh Dyke) projects into the Hambleton Street and is cut by it. The Hambleton Street therefore appears later than the dyke system. The A170 road also cuts the Cleave and Casten Dykes indicating that it is a later development, but the nature of the intersection is unclear. This road, which involved considerable quarrying operations, is probably fairly late, though it is given on the Jefferies 1772 map of Yorkshire, and marked as a cart road on the 1795 map.

We cannot therefore any longer assume that the Hambleton Street is a Neolithic or Bronze Age ridge road. It seems to have developed some time between the use of the northern part of the dyke system and 1209 when it is first mentioned as a main through road, i.e. "the main road leading to Cleveland". It may possibly have developed in the Roman period, for there were Roman settlements in the south at Oldstead and Hood, at its northern end at Whorlton and possibly near the centre section at Upsall and Ravensthorpe.

The date of the dykes

From the foregoing discussion we can make an estimate of the date of building the dykes which, with the exception of the Daletown Dyke, appear to be broadly contemporary.

(a) they appear to be later than the round barrows, i.e. post 1400 B.C.
(b) they appear to be contemporary with the use of the Boltby Fort, which Challis and Harding[23] date to the late Bronze Age or the early part of the Iron Age.
(c) they appear earlier than the Hambleton Street which was of major importance by the early thirteenth century and may have originated in the Roman period.

If we accept a Late Bronze Age or Iron Age date for the dyke system we are broadly consistent with the allocation of other Yorkshire dykes to the pre-historic period. Ramm[24] dates the Wold Dyke system to the pre-Roman period; it bears many resemblances to the Cleave Dyke system. With regard to north-east Yorkshire, the date of one of the dykes on Levisham Moor may be the same as the enclosures attached to it (Iron Age/Romano British), and the Moor Dyke in Wykeham Forest also had an enclosure attached to it containing round hut foundations, an indication of prehistoric or Romano-British date (O.S. 1892 map).

Relation with township boundaries

The Cleave Dyke north of Sneck Yat (Section F), where it lies on the eastern side of the Hambleton Street, appears to have been the eastern boundary of Boltby at least from the thirteenth century to the present day. The only other section of the Cleave Dyke currently serving as a boundary is on the Hambleton racecourse between SE 514836 and 513840, but this appears to be a result of the compromise settlement of the eighteenth century dispute. The Hesketh Dyke has been a township boundary at least since 1142 and the Casten Dyke (North) is frequently given as the northern boundary of Kilburn in the eighteenth-century documents and maps. Steeple Cross Dyke forms the boundary between the townships of Daletown and Arden.

Evidence for pit alignments on the lines of the dykes

Denny refers to pits on the Cleave Dyke near the Boltby Fort (Section K); but these are not currently visible on the ground, though they show clearly at the southern part of

---

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ramm 1978, 18-19, 69.

Section I on 1932 air photographs. In the southern part of Section K, however, pits have been revealed by air photography,[25], and in Section M the undulations of the bank appear to reflect the existence of pits. The best preserved pits in the system are now at the eastern end of the Kepwick Dyke. The presence of pits is further evidence that the dykes are, in essence, boundary markers rather than defensive works.

Function of the dyke system

There can be little doubt that the dykes comprised a system for dividing the terrain into viable farming territories. It is based on the natural features of watershed and valleys. This would form the basis of any arrangement after the advent of mixed farming, for it allots to each territory proportions of high and low ground and access to water, which are all essential for efficient settled husbandry. The proximity of the Cleave Dyke to the scarp edge has caused doubt about its use as a boundary on the grounds that the scarp edge itself would be adequate. However, the small area of land on the top of the moor was regarded as extremely important in historic times to the mixed farming economy of the adjoining lowland township, both for summer pasture and peat for winter fuel. Many townships on the periphery of the North York Moors have similar upland/lowland configurations and this pattern also occurs at the edge of the chalk hills in southern England, both with regard to the linear ditch patterns and the Saxon strip parishes[26].

The watershed boundary on the Hambleton Hills was marked in the beaker and urn periods (about 2100-1400 B.C.) by round barrows. The system appears to have been augmented later by pit alignments and linear dykes, probably in the late Bronze Age or Iron Age, if we believe that its use was contemporary with that of the Boltby Fort. The defensive element was the strategically placed fort; the dykes could not have formed defensible positions and were simply territorial markers. We have no evidence at present for palisades on the banks, though these are known on other early dykes[27].

The system served people whose permanent farms were mainly on the nearby low ground of Ryedale and the Vale of York. The distribution of beehive querns shows clearly the essential lowland nature of the permanent settlement in the late prehistoric and Roman periods[28], and there is much evidence to show a similar settlement pattern in all the prehistoric and historic periods[29]. In addition to the beehive querns we have evidence of Iron Age settlement from the Ryedale Windypits, Iron Age type enclosure[30] and early Iron Age barrows on Ampleforth Moor[31], and an Iron Age type enclosure at Penhill, Kepwick. One upland Iron Age settlement with Celtic fields and querns is at Cold Kirby village. The dyke system therefore completed the definition of the limits of the territories belonging mainly to the lowland farms, meeting naturally at the watersheds and valley bottoms. It was still partly in use as a boundary system in the earliest mediaeval record in 1142, and has continued in use to define some township boundaries ever since. Whether the partial use was continuous in the Roman and Saxon periods will probably never be proved in the absence of documents for these periods, but, given that the dykes were designed with the conditions necessary for efficient mixed farming in mind, there seems

---

25. National Monuments Record, Air Photographs Library SE 5085/2/5085-6 of 31 Aug. 1932.
26. R. Bradley (1978), *The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain,* 48. London.
27. J. Dyer (1961), 'Dray's Ditches, Bedfordshire, and Early Iron Age territorial boundaries in the eastern Chilterns', *Ant. J.,* 42, 32-43.
28. R. H. Hayes, J. E. Hemingway and D. A. Spratt (1980), 'The Distribution and Lithology of Beehive Querns in North East Yorkshire', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 7, 297-324.
29. J. Radley (1974), 'The Prehistory of the Vale of York', *YAJ* 40, 10-22.
30. cf. Hayes 1963.
31. G. J. Wainwright and I. H. Longworth (1969), 'The Excavation of a group of round barrows on Ampleforth Moor, Yorkshire', *YAJ* 42, 283-94.

no reason to suppose that they were not. Evidence on this point might be gathered if secondary Saxon burials were found in the boundary tumuli.

Development of the landscape

From the discussion we can compose an approximate chronology for developments on the terrain of the dyke system. There is a scarcity of palaeobotanical data for the area, but from analyses elsewhere and local Neolithic evidence there can be little doubt that extensive clearances of the post-glacial mixed forest started in the Neolithic period, and that mixed farming was continuous since that time. Forest clearance was widespread in the Bronze Age and virtually complete on the hills in the Iron Age. Although the prehistoric monuments are best preserved on the hills, there is no doubt that there was extensive prehistoric settlement at all periods on the neighbouring lowland[32]. In this landscape we can postulate the following sequence:

a Mesolithic period. Development of lowland/upland tracks on scarp face, particularly at Steeple Cross and Sneck Yat where there are hunting camps surviving as flint sites.
b. Neolithic period. Forest clearance and settled mixed farming, shown by many Neolithic axes and the long barrows at Kepwick and Wass.
c. Bronze Age. Development of territorial system with barrows on the watershed.
d. Late Bronze Age/Iron Age (post 1400 B.C.). Construction of pit alignments and dyke system, to augment the Bronze Age boundaries on the watershed and in the valley heads. Construction of the fort at Boltby.
e. Roman/Saxon period. Hambleton Street brought into use following the Cleave Dyke in part.
f. Mediaeval period. Dykes in use as township boundaries.
g. Eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. Enclosure of open fields, building of many drystone walls, layout of roads with wide verges. Boundaries mapped, frequently on the line of dykes.

Conclusion

From visual survey it is possible to broadly date the Cleave Dyke system of territorial boundaries to the late Bronze or Iron Age from its relationships with round barrows, roads and tracks, and the Boltby fort. The hypotheses advanced in this paper need further testing by excavations at critical points, particularly its intersections, and it would also be useful to look for evidence of palisades. A re-investigation of the Silver Hill barrow would clarify the relation of the dyke to the barrow, and might provide evidence for the Saxon period. More evidence of the lowland prehistoric settlement patterns and economies are needed, for it is only in relation to these that the dyke system can be fully understood.

Appendix A

Geophysical Work (I. Macintyre)

A resistivity survey was undertaken in the area immediately to the south of the Sneck Yat Plantation (SE 509875). The major aim was to provide positive evidence of the existence of the dyke in this area and then to accurately plot its line. The survey was carried out on a limited area basis, that is grids up to 30m^2. were surveyed at certain intervals within the site area, with data being recorded at 1m intervals. Surveying by this method is relatively fast and would allow the line of the dyke to be located by extrapolation of field data from one survey area to the next.

The survey was started in the south of the site where there was conclusive evidence of the dyke's location from cropmarks. It was hoped extrapolation of the recorded data would allow the line of the dyke to be followed north to the plantation. However, although data recorded in the southern part of the site strongly indicated the existence of a subterranean "ditch-like" feature, this low resistance "ditch" anomaly became more and more vague towards the central part of the site. Extrapolation of data in this area was further complicated by additional low resistance anomalies being picked up. As it was now certain that the dyke was present at this location and there was no purposeful break (as at the Boltby Hill Fort), the survey was re-started from the northern boundary of the site. The results were plotted by means of a simple contour diagram in which low value resistance anomalies are isolated, these inferring the location of the ditch, (Fig. 5).

---

[32] Radley 1974.

From the recorded data the ditch of the dyke was located by a drop in anomaly strength of between 3 to 6 ohms. The ditch width was indicated to be between 2 and 5 metres. (This is slightly larger than the measured values of ditch widths at other loctions. A possible explanation may be due to ploughing activities or erosion of the feature at some time). In only the central area (Fig. 5) was there any doubt of the exact location of the dyke. Three linear low resistance anomalies were located, anyone of which could represent the ditch of the dyke. Only by alignment with the anomalies to the north and south could any suggestions be made concerning which particular anomaly indicated the line of the dyke. It is thought that the other anomalies represent geological fault lines. A point of minor detail noticed from the plotted survey indicated a small gap in the dyke within the northern area. This gap coincides with the position of an early hedge boundary and is not considered significant.

A second survey was undertaken to the north of Garbut Farm (SE 514836) where faint depressions were thought to indicate a possible west-east secondary dyke. The results of the survey indicated no secondary dyke was present at this point.

Acknowledgements

This study benefited to an exceptional degree by the skilled collaboration of many people. Paul Chadwick of the North Yorkshire County Archaeologists Office took the air photographs; Ian Macintyre of Bradford University did the geophysical work; Ron Butler, Chris Dunn and Herman Ramm of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (York office) took part in the field work, as did Raymond Hayes and Douglas Smith of Hutton-le-Hole; Mike Griffiths (County Archaeologist, North Yorkshire) arranged the typing. All of them helped with discussions of the draft. I am very grateful for all their efforts. I thank the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research who were most helpful with the early documentation, the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for support of the field work, John Hemingway for geological advice, Martin Ecclestone for a transcript of the 1598 dispute, Vic Watts (Durham University) for analysis of the placename evidence and Mr. Keel, Brook House, Sutton-under-Whitestonecliffe for permission for the excavation and geophysical work. I am extremely grateful to Brian Drummond for preparing the maps; they are published by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. The serial numbers of air photographs are those of the North Yorkshire County Archaeologist's office.

The Council is grateful to the North York Moors National Parks Committee for a grant towards the cost of publishing this paper.

THE MALTON BURNT GRAIN: A CAUTIONARY TALE

By P. C. Buckland

Introduction

Evidence of burning, demolition and rebuilding occurs widely upon Roman sites in the North of England and the idea that this archaeological evidence of 'destruction' could be related to the slight historical record developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Approximate dates from the stratigraphic sequences so defined were obtained from Craster's study of the coins from the Poltross Burn milecastle on Hadrian's Wall.[1] What began as a working division between periods of rebuilding became, with the finding of an inscription at Birdoswald (R.I.B. 1912),[2] fossilised with the presumed events of A.D. 296 - widespread barbarian incursion following the removal of troops from the North by Carausius and Allectus to oppose any invasion by Constantius Chlorus' forces from Gaul.[3] The incidents of 296 in the North are not attested by any contemporary source and what began as an assumption soon became 'fact', rarely questioned in over forty years. Once established, the idea that the events could be traced in the archaeological record spread southwards to areas far outside the hinterland of the Wall. York and Chester fell victim on the slightest of evidence.[4] Sir Ian Richmond, perhaps much under the influence of R. G. Collingwood over the Birdoswald interpretation, was the major figure in Romano-British studies for over a quarter of a century and he was convinced that evidence of burning and/or rebuilding could be related to enemy action, provided that the artifactual data implied a date close to that deduced from historical sources. In 1955, he wrote:-

> "On this occasion also the damage went deep: a century before the legionary fortress at York had fallen, but this time Chester was also taken and had to be largely rebuilt, together with the forts of northern England, the Wall and its outposts."[5]

He maintains a similar position over York and Chester in his revision of Collingwood's 'Archaeology of Roman Britain' in 1969.[6] Frere,[7] whilst accepting the traditional interpretation in his main text, allows the possibility of rebuilding after a period of decay in a footnote - *Quod erat humo copertum et in labem conlapsum* in the words of the Birdoswald inscription. It is, however, the theme of destruction, followed by counter-attack and rebuilding which appeals to the imagination and it is this that has often become enshrined in the more general literature:

> "Brushing aside the Foederati of the Lowlands, the Caledonii and Maeatae

---

[1] Craster, H. H. E., 'The Coins' in Gibson, J. P. & Simpson, F. G., 'The Mile-castle on the Wall of Hadrian at the Poltross Burn', *Trans. Cumb. & West. Ant. & Arch. Soc. N.S.* 11 (1911) pp. 390-461.

[2] Richmond, I. A., Birley, E. B. & Simpson, F. G. 'Excavations on Hadrian's Wall in the Birdoswald - Pike Hill section, 1929', *Op. cit.* 30 (1930) pp. 187-.

[3] Birley, E. 'Three notes on Roman Cumberland : Bewcastle, Bowness-on-Solway, Petrianae', *Op. cit.* 31 (1931) pp. 140-144.

[4] Miller, S. N., 'Roman York : Excavations of 1925', *J. Roman Studies* (1925) pp. 176-194. Richmond, I. A. & Webster, G., 'Excavations in Goss Street, Chester, 1948-9' *J. Chester & N. Wales Arch. & Hist. Soc. N. S.* 38 (1951) pp. 1-38.

[5] Richmond, I.A., 'Roman and Native in the Fourth Century A.D. and After', in Richmond, I.A. (ed.) *'Roman and Native in North Britain'* (Edinburgh, 1958) pp. 112-130.

[6] Collingwood, R. G. & Richmond, I. A., *'The Archaeology of Roman Britain'* (London, 1969).

[7] Frere, S. S., *'Britannia'* (London, 1974) p. 382.

> swarmed down on Hadrian's barrier, crossed it without hindrance, and swept south. At the same time, more perhaps from chance than by collusion, the Irish sea-raiders descended in force on the west coast. The great legionary fortresses at Chester and York were both taken with as much destruction as stone walls and buildings permitted. All through the north as far as York, and in the west through Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales, farms, villages and small forts were ravaged and destroyed with heavy loss of life and property. It was a major disaster to Roman Britain."[8]

The evidence for 'destruction deposits' on Hadrian's Wall has been critically discussed by both Gillam[9] and Breeze and Dobson.[10] Wilkes[11] has also doubted whether there was any great destruction along the Wall at the end of the third century, although his argument that the same units continue in garrison has been countered by suggesting that the troops were absent in the south during 296.[12] The epigraphic evidence has also been recently reassessed by Welsby[13] but a critical review of archaeological evidence from other sites is necessary before a tentative history of the late third and early fourth century can be attempted. One deposit which is clearly relevant to such a study is the extensive burnt grain layer, excavated by Corder[14], in the Roman fort at Malton, East Yorkshire, and most recently discussed by Ramm.[15]

The Malton Burnt Grain

Within the fort, the 'carbonised wheat layer' lay along the back of the north-east rampart. In places up to 300mm thick,[16] the deposit consisted almost entirely of charred grain, with a few fragments of similarly burnt timber, and covered an area nearly 9m wide from the tail of the rampart, extending northwards for at least 50m from the north-east gate. To the excavator, only one interpretation of such an expanse of burnt grain was posible:

> "Such a layer could not be produced merely by the burning of a granary and a spreading of the debris. It could only be produced by the deliberate destruction of grain stacked systematically along the back of the rampart and there burnt."[17]

a reasonable interpretation but he continues,

> "this layer represents then an evacuation of the fort and its dating is important."

Unfortunately the pottery from the deposit[18] contains little which can be closely dated and the group is dominated by the conservative products of local kilns, particularly the calcite-gritted jars from the Knapton potteries.[19] Corder[20] tentatively placed the group in the first half of the third century, clearly regarding it as residual, and the published group contains finds from associated layers rather than solely from the wheat. In view of the nature of the deposit, it is unlikely that any vessel would be contemporary with the burning, most perhaps relating to the old ground surface beneath the charred grain, and the lack of complete vessels would support this view. A *terminus post quem* is provided by straight-sided flanged bowls in the deposit, a form which seems to have developed during the late second century.[21] The 'upper post-hole house', regarded by the excavator as contemporary with the wheat,[22] sealed coins of Antoninus Pius (138-162) and Caracalla (211-217) in its floor, further support for a date in the early third century or later. Over much of the area, the burnt wheat was not sealed by any recognised structure but it lay in excess of a metre below present ground level and the excavators may have failed to note, or been unable to interpret the irregular, poorly preserved traces of later buildings. South-westwards from the rampart, the wheat was overlain by a stone building, dated "certainly not early than the beginning of the fourth century,"[23] although the evidence for this is not provided in the report; other stone structures, not described, are referred to as subsequent to the burnt wheat in the north corner of the fort. Roads 3 and 4, remetallings of the fort's intervallum road, lie directly over the charred grain deposit.[24] The lowest, Road 4, "produced nothing notable" but sealed beneath the upper surfacing, were coins of Severus Alexander (222-235) and Gallienus (253-268) and an antoninianus of Tetricus I (270-273) lay on its surface. The published pottery is again not particularly helpful[25] but a date within the first half of the fourth century, when wholly hand-made 'Knapton' jars had been replaced by jars with wheel-turned rims, approaching the 'Huntcliff type',[26] would seem probable. Although, on balance, a pre-Constantinian date might seem the more probable, the burning of the grain can only be placed within the broad limits of c. 190-350 and, if we are to seek a military cause, a choice of historically attested periods of unrest offers itself - 197-211, 273, 283-285, 296-305 and 343.[27] Corder, however, influenced perhaps by workers on Hadrian's Wall and Miller's view of the Yorkshire evidence,[28] suggested a late third century date for the presumed destruction and temporary abandonment of Malton. Corder initially preferred a date of c.280 but Ramm[29] has revised this to fit more closely with the presumed historical record and gives the traditional date of 296.

---

[8] Welch, G. P., *'Britannia'* (London, 1965). See also Garlick, T., *'Romans in the Lake Counties'* (Clapham, Yorks., 1970).

[9] Gillam, J. P., 'The frontier after Hadrian - a history of the problem', *Arch. Ael. 5th. ser.* 2 (1974) pp. 1-16.

[10] Breeze, D. J. & Dobson, B., 'Hadrian's Wall : Some Problems', *Britannia* 3 (1972) pp. 182-208.

[11] Wilkes, J. J., 'Early Fourth Century rebuilding in Hadrian's Wall Forts', in Jarrett, M. G. & Dobson, B. (eds.) *'Britain and Rome'* (Kendall, 1966) pp. 114-138.

[12] *Op. cit.*, note 7.

[13] Welsby, D.A., 'Roman building inscriptions, recording buildings collapsed through age or destroyed by the enemy?', *Arch. Ael. 5th. ser.* 8 (1980) pp. 89-94.

[14] Corder, P., *'The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton'* (Leeds, 1930).

[15] Ramm, H., *'The Parisii'*, (London, 1978) p. 43.

[16] *Op. cit.*, note 14, fig. 33.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

[18] *Op. cit.*, fig. 6.

[19] Corder, P., 'The Roman Pottery at Knapton', in Corder, P. & Kirk, J. L. *'A Roman Villa at Langton, near Malton, E. Yorks.'* (Leeds, 1932) pp. 96-99.

[20] *Op. cit.*, note 14.

The Re-examination of the Burnt Grain

It is fortunate that Corder realised the importance of the charred grain outside his own interpretation and about 10kg survives in Malton Museum. Jessen and Helbaek[30] examined a subsample and found that it was composed principally of "various wheats" (300 grains), with some clubwheat (11 grains), emmer (12), naked barley (14) and oats (5). In view of the mixed nature of the cereals, it is surprising that a re-examination of a sample by A. R. Hall of the York Environmental Archaeology Unit failed to produce any associated weed seeds. Working with charred grain from the Roman villa at Droitwich, Worcestershire, Osborne[31] had shown that insects could also be preserved by the charring process and it was decided to examine some of the Malton material from this point of view. A 3kg sample of the grain was carefully washed over a 300 micron sieve to remove fine carbon and silt. Paraffin (kerosene) flotation[32] failed to produce a separation between any insect remains and grain and all material was sorted under a binocular microscope. It was apparent that the grain had suffered considerably during previous examinations and much was broken, making it impossible to assess any insect damage to individual grains. Careful sorting, however, revealed a few legs and fragments of thoraces and elytra of three of the principal pests of stored grain. The grain weevil, *Sitophilus granarius* (L.) is virtually restricted to stored[33] cereals and, since it is flightless, its presence in the charred wheat layer must be a result of introduction in transported grain. The other two species found, the saw-toothed grain beetle, *Oryzaephilus surinamensis* (L.), and *Cryptolestes* sp. may occur in natural habitats in the south of England[34] but they owe their present cosmopolitan distribution to their ability to exploit the artificially 'cushioned' habitats created by man. Similar faunas have been recorded from several Roman sites in Britain[35] and this assemblage, with many other introduced species, probably first achieved a widespread distribution in Europe with the Roman armies[36], which required the transportation of large quantities of grain and other foodstuffs to feed both men and animals. Once established in a granary, such insects pests are difficult to eradicate, persisting today in the face of modern insecticides in grain residues in crevices, under floors and in wall cavities, ready to infest any new supplies.[37] In the Roman period, only burning would have totally removed an infestation - thereby creating a destruction deposit for the archaeologists. In the sewer beneath the fortress at York, pests of stored products occurred in deposits ranging from the end of the second century to the late fourth[38] and some livestock in his food must have been a fact of life for every Roman soldier.[39] Although the insects could, to some extent, be removed manually or by gentle heating, above a certain level of infestation grain becomes completely unpalatable, a result of the concentration of uric acid waste products from the insects and the growth of a toxic microflora.[40] The beetles in the Malton burnt grain were too poorly preserved for any estimate of the number of individuals per unit of wheat but, from the relative frequency of fragments in the rather battered sample, it could be inferred that the level of infestation was sufficient to render its destruction necessary.

---

[21] Gillam, J. P., 'Sources of Pottery found on Northern Military Sites', in Detsicas, A. (ed.) *'Current Research in Romano-British Coarse Pottery'* (C.B.A., London, 1973) pp. 53-62.

[22] *Op. cit.*, note 14, fig. 33.

[23] *Op. cit.*

[24] *Op. cit.*, fig. 33.

[25] *Op. cit.*

[26] *Op. cit.*, note 19.

[27] *Op. cit.*, note 9.

[28] *Op. cit.*, note 4 and Miller, S. N., 'Roman York : Excavations of 1926-1927', *J. Roman Studies* 18 (1928) pp. 61-99.

[29] *Op. cit.*, note 15, p. 43. See also Longworth, I.A. *'Yorkshire'* (London, 1965).

[30] Jessen, K. & Helbaek, H., 'Cereals in Great Britain and Ireland in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times', *Det Kongelige Danske Vid. Sels. Biol. Skrift.* 3, 2 (1944).

Discussion

The postulate of insect infestation removes the apparent need to find a historical context for the burning of the cereals but it still leaves several unanswered questions. The destruction of infested grain must have been fairly commonplace at forts and other sites throughout the Roman period, if not an annual occurrence before receiving new stocks. Normally, one would expect the material to be disposed of outside a fortified enclosure and this is, for example, perhaps the best explanation for the burnt grain recovered from outside the fort at Papcastle, Cumberland.[41] At Malton, the burning of the grain within the fort might suggest that at least part of the northern quarter of this comparatively large (3.4 hectare) enclosure was unoccupied at that time. Corder's trenches, however, were insufficiently close to show whether the charred wheat was a single deposit or composed of a series of overlapping heaps of differing date and it remains possible that this area, along the rampart, was used to dispose of grain residues over several decades.

---

[31] Osborne, P. J., 'Stored product beetles from a Roman site at Droitwich, England', *J. Stored Prod. Res.*, 13 (1977) pp. 203-204.

[32] Coope, G. R. & Osborne, P. J. 'Report on the coleopterous fauna of the Roman Well at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, *Trans. Bristol & Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* (1968) pp. 84-87.

[33] Solomon, M. E. & Adamson, B. E., 'The powers of survival of storage and domestic pests under winter conditions in Britain', *Bull. Ent. Res.* 46 (1955) pp. 311-355.

[34] Hunter, F. A., Tulloch, J. B. M. & Lambourne, M. G., 'Insects and mites of Maltings in the East Midlands of England', *J. Stored Prod. Res.* 9 (1973) pp. 119-141.

[35] Buckland, P.C., 'The early dispersal of insect pests of stored products as indicated by the archaeological record', *Op. cit.* 17 (1981) pp.1-12.

[36] Buckland, P. C., '*Niptus hololeucus* Fald. (Col., Ptinidae) from Roman Deposits in York', *Entomologists mon. Mag.* 111 (1976) pp. 233-234.

[37] Coombs, C. W. & Freeman, J. A., 'The insect fauna of an empty granary', *Bull. Ent. Res.* 46 (1955) pp. 399-417.

[38] Buckland, P.C., *'The Environmental Evidence from the Church Street Roman Sewer System'* Archaeology of York 14/1, (C.B.A. London, 1974).

[39] *Op. cit.*, note 35.

[40] Munro, J. W., *'Pests of Stored Products'* (London, 1966).

If the charred grain is accepted as a single deposit, it is possible, employing Corder's figures for its extent, to arrive at some approximation as to the amount burnt. Taking an average thickness for the layer as 0.2m and an areal extent of 50m by 9m, a volume of about $90m^3$ (118 cu. yds.) is obtained. Whilst in terms of the excavated evidence this might appear a high estimate, it has to be remembered that the areas of the stack which were well oxygenated during combustion, would be totally burnt away and material unburnt, beneath some thickness of grain, would have subsequently decayed. It remains instructive to compare the minimal figure obtained with the estimated capacity of a fort granary. At the Agricolan fort at Fendoch, Richmond and McIntyre[42] suggested a capacity of $142m^3$(185 cu. yds.), rather more than the amount of charred wheat implied at Malton but, allowing for partial preservation, it may be tentatively proposed that the contents of a granary, as yet unexcavated, had become infested and had had to be destroyed at Malton at least once during the period c. 190-350. Although this would represent a major loss to any garrison - the minimal estimate represents a year's supply for 236 men -, it is a small amount when it is considered that, in 1947, the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organisation estimated that 10 per cent of World cereal production was lost annually to insect pests during storage.[43] Lacking insecticides and effective cleaning measures, losses in the Roman period must have been proportionally higher.[44] A further problem is why the grain, if unfit for human consumption, was not utilised or sold for animal fodder, particularly when the ready market provided by the extensive *vicus* outside the fort is considered.[45] The degree of infestation and potential threat to other supplies from the contaminated grain, however, may well have precluded this. Apart from passing references in Pliny (18.11.73) and Columella (1.6.12)[46], there is no contemporary account of grain infestation, but the effects of feeding corn with a high level of toxic microflora to livestock are illustrated by a medieval document. At Nottingham in 1432, Thomas Sharp was indicted for selling malt so "raw, recked and damaged with weevils" that it killed the hogs, hens and capons to which it was given.[47]

It seems probable that the charred wheat formed the basis for Richmond's suggestion[48] that Malton acted as a collection centre for crops from the farmlands of the Wolds. There

---

41. Collingwood, R. G., 'Report of the Excavations at Papcastle, 1912', *Trans. Cumb. & West. Ant. & Arch. Soc. N.S.* 13 (1913) pp. 131-141.
42. Richmond, I. A. & McIntyre, J., 'The Agricolan Fort at Fendoch', *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 73 (1939) pp. 110-154. See also Gentry, A. P., *'Roman Military Stone-Built Granaries in Britain'*, British Archaeological Reports, 32 (Oxford, 1976).
43. *Op. cit.*, note 40.
44. c.f. Buckland, P. C., 'Cereal production, storage and population : a caveat', In Limbrey, S. & Evans, J. G. (eds.) *'The effect of man on the landscape : the Lowland Zone'* (C.B.A., London, 1978) pp. 43-45.
45. *Op. cit.*, note 15 and Mitchelson, N., 'Roman Malton : The Civilian Settlement Excavations in Orchard Field, 1949-1952', *Y.A.J.* (1964) pp. 209-261.
46. White, K. D., *'Roman Farming'* (London, 1970); see also Gentry, *op. cit.*, note 42.
47. Salzman, L. F., *'English Industries of the Middle Ages'* (Oxford, 1923).
48. Richmond, I. A., *'Roman Britain'* (Harmondsworth, 1955); see also Wenham, L. P. *'Derventio (Malton). Roman Fort and Civilian Settlement'* (Huddersfield, 1974) p. 14.

is no direct evidence to support this - the amount of grain implied is much less than a year's supply for a quingenary cohort - but it is not an improbable supposition since the fort is situated by the River Derwent, close to the junction between the north-west corner of the Wolds and the southern end of the Howardian Hills, both areas where there is ample evidence for Roman farming activity.[49] No additional granaries, after the fashion, for example, of the Severan supply base at South Shields[50], have, however, been recorded within the fort.

A wider discussion of the late third and early fourth century can now be attempted. It is possible that the fort at Malton was either completely abandoned or held by only a caretaker garrison from the mid-third century until early in the fourth century, although the large number of coins of Carausius might, as Corder suggests[51], argue for a slightly earlier reoccupation. This large fort lies in an area which, whilst apparently lacking large towns, had a well developed agricultural tradition, with at least the beginnings of 'romanised' farms by the early second century.[52] A large garrison - the size of the enclosure would imply at least a milliary cohort - in what was essentially part of the 'Lowland Zone' appears as something of an anachronism during the period between the end of the presumed 'Brigantian revolt' in the second half of the second century and the need for defence in depth from new threats along the eastern seaboard towards the end of the third century.[53] Mitchelson[54] has noted an absence of rebuilding in the settlement outside the fort during the third century, perhaps a result of the removal of much of its raison d'etre - the garrison. There is considerable evidence from other forts in the North for abandonment or partial decay in the third century.[55]

Further south, at Doncaster, the most southerly fort in the county, recent work[56]has shown a general decline in the nature of the occupation during the third century and, to the west, at Templeborough[57] and Castleford,[58] the pottery series come virtually to an end in the early third century and these sites were probably abandoned as military posts.[59]

Despite the widespread evidence for a declining military involvement through the third century, it cannot be assumed that a wholly stable political situation existed throughout the province after the Severan reorganisation of the Frontier but one which allowed some reduction in the number of troops. The problems on the Rhine, beginning under Severus Alexander (ca. 235), and the requirements for bolstering up the separatist Gallic Empire (259-273) may have led to troop withdrawals, despite the relative silence of our literary and epigraphic sources. An inscription from Sirmium in Pannonia (C.I.L.3228) records that Gallienus had stationed contingents from both the British and

---

[49] *Op. cit.*, note 15.

[50] Dore, J. & Gillam, J., *'The Roman Fort at South Shields'*, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1980).

[51] *Op. cit.*, note 14, p. 67.

[52] *Op. cit.*, note 15 and Stead, I. M., *'Rudston Roman Villa'* (Leeds, 1980).

[53] Johnson, S., *'The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore'*, (London, 1976).

[54] *Op. cit.*, note 45.

[55] *Op. cit.*, note 14, p. 66 for a suggestion by Corder that the late third century occupation at Malton was only partially military. *Op. cit.*, notes 9 & 10; see also Daniels, C., 'Fact and Theory on Hadrian's Wall', *Britannia* 10 (1979) pp. 357-364 and Mann, J. C., 'The Northern Frontier after A.D. 369', *Glasgow Arch. J.* 3 (1974) pp. 34-42.

[56] Buckland, P. C. & Magilton, J. R., *'The Roman Fort at Doncaster'*, Archaeology of Doncaster 1/1 (Doncaster, in prep.).

[57] May, T., *'The Roman Forts of Templeborough, near Rotherham'*, (Rotherham, 1922) and unpublished material in Rotherham Museum. For a contrary view of this material, see Simpson, G., 'Roman Manchester and Templeborough : The Forts and Dates Reviewed', in Hawkes, C. & Hawkes, S. (eds.) *'Greeks, Celts and Romans'*, (London, 1973) pp. 69-91.

[58] Unpublished material in Castleford Museum.

[59] For a suggestion that, in line with the Continental evidence, urban centres suffered a similar decline, often to the point of ceasing to be towns during the third century, see Reece, R., 'Town and Country : the end of Roman Britain', *World Archaeology*, 12 (1980) pp. 77-92.

Rhineland armies there and Mocsy[60] has suggested that these were 'probably of considerable strength'; their return would have been impeded by the Gallic Empire after the revolt of Postumus in 259. The wording of the Birdoswald inscription (R.I.B. 1912), as Collingwood[61] noted, sounds like rather more than ten years of neglect and, whilst most unit names continue on the wall during the fourth century, Wilkes[62] has suggested that the returning units may not have been quite the ones which left. A similar situation may well pertain in the much less well documented forts south of the Wall zone.

It is possible, indeed probable, that destruction by enemy action may have occurred on some sites during the Roman period but no 'so-called' destruction deposit can be absolutely dated to 296 and it remains necessary to discuss the nature of such archaeological deposits.

Destruction in the archaeological record

Frere,[63] admitting the inadequacies of archaeological reports, suggests that . . . "destruction . . . can be assumed with any degree of confidence only where the reports speak of widespread signs of Fire." It would be naîve to uncritically accept such evidence as indicative of barbarian sack. In any settlement where structures are primarily of timber with wattle and daub infilling, even where stone and tile are used for foundations and roofing, the risk of accidental fire is high and, in the relatively confined space of a Roman fort, it would have been extremely difficult to stop fire spreading from one structure to another. Apparently extensive traces of burning need not relate to the same incident, since it is seldom that a sufficiently contiguous area is excavated to prove that the deposits relate to one incident rather than several of slightly different date. Where a burnt layer has been attested as widespread on a site, the interpretation remains a matter of some difficulty and speculation. Perhaps the most salutary comment is a near contemporary one; Frontinus, writing of Rome under Trajan, says *"nam et colles sensim propter frequentiam incendiorum excreverunt rudere"* - for the hills have gradually grown higher with rubbish in consequence of frequent conflagrations[64] - Rome did not suffer extensive enemy action between the sack by the Gauls in 391 B.C. and that by Alaric in A.D. 410. Whilst the possibilities of accidental fires might be thought greater in a major city, every fort possessed at least one major fire risk in its granary. The flammability of civil *horrea* was recognised and a law of 326 *(Codex Theodosianus,* 15,1,4) lays down that an area 30m wide be kept clear around them;[65] such isolation was impractical in the confined space of a military establishment. The risks from internal heating of stored grain were reduced by ventilation, provided by a raised floor and, probably, louvres in the sides of the structure.[66] Protection from external fire hazards was by a stone or tiled roof. The risk of fire, however, must always have been high and the relative flammability of granaries has to be considered when burnt horizons are interpreted. At Ilkley, however, Hartley[67] regarded the burning down of the granary whilst still containing corn as "almost certainly (to) be attributed to enemy action," a convenient literary date being provided by *c.* 197, yet at least one building within the fort may have continued in use well into the Severan period.

---

[60] Mocsy, A., *'Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire'* (London, 1974); see also *op. cit.*, note 7, p. 215.

[61] Collingwood, R. G., 'Hadrian's Wall : 1921-1930', *J. Roman Studies* 21 (1931) pp. 36-64.

[62] *Op. cit.*, note 11.

[63] Op. cit., note 7, p. 383.

[64] Julius Frontinus, *'De Re Aquis'.*

[65] Rickman, G. E., *'Roman Granaries and Store-buildings'*, (Cambridge, 1971).

[66] Bulmer, W., 'The Provisioning of Roman Forts: A Reappraisal of Ration Storage', *Arch. Ael. 4th Ser.*, 47 (1969) pp. 7-13; see also Gentry, *op. cit.*, note 42.

[67] Hartley, B. R., 'The Roman Fort at Ilkley; Excavations of 1962', *Proc. Leeds Philos. & Lit. Soc., Lit. & Hist. Section* 12 (1966) pp. 23-72.

A direct comparison with evidence for major accidental fires in a period with better documentary records is hindered by the differing types of site and structural techniques. As Richmond[68] has discussed, the timbers of the framework of many Roman timber-framed buildings were sunk deep in the clay walling, unlike similarly constructed medieval houses, and this would reduce the fire risks. The figures for the incidence of major fires in post-medieval Wessex,[69] however, provide an instructive example. From 1660 to 1689, a total of thirty-two major fires are recorded in this area, an archaeological possibility of as many destruction deposits in a relatively restricted region. With only a literary hint of Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, what would the interpretation be? The almost total destruction by fire of Blandford, Dorset, in 1731, can be contrasted with the slight traces of damage in Roman Silchester, which caused Boon[70] to suggest that the city may have suffered in the conflict between Allectus' and Asclepiodotus' troops in 296. The simple equation, burning equals enemy action, still has its adherents and Rodwell[71] has recently been tempted to ascribe the evidence for fires on sites in Essex during the Antonine period to raiders from across the North Sea, thereby creating a new myth on wholly unsufficient evidence.

Destruction may have taken place on some sites but, short of the graphic evidence of war cemeteries, like that within Maiden Castle, Dorset,[72] or the clearly butchered dead lying within destroyed buildings, as in medieval Kiev,[73] it is doubtful whether archaeological methods are capable of recognising enemy action, of distinguishing between natural and man-made disasters or separating site clearance before rebuilding from the activities of hostile bands. Abandonment and decay, however, can be recognised,[74] particularly by the meticulous use of the palaeoecological data. Changing insect faunas can chart decay but there are few sites where the time and resources are available.

Conclusion

Dispensing with destruction, the reoccupation of forts as far apart as Birdoswald[75] and Doncaster[76] still requires explanation. The extent of Constantius Chlorus' campaigns in the North in the early years of the fourth century is unknown and the sources may relate to events wholly beyond the Frontier, even a minor punitive expedition, seized upon by panegyrists to provide a further element of military glory for their sponsor. The reoccupation of such isolated Pennine outposts as Elslack[77] and Lowland forts like Malton might suggest problems of internal security as much as external threat, although the latter is clearly present along the Saxon Shore and perhaps on the West Coast. In Lowland Britain, the system of small, fortified enclosures along Watling Street[78] may relate more to policing problems with the local populace than to Chlorus' campaign of reconquest in 296, for which they seem too substantial. Such problems with a recalcitrant colonate are less likely to appear in the writings of a semi-official biographer, or one conscious of his position within the State, than are campaigns against external aggressors. Thompson[79] has discussed the evidence for peasant revolts in late Roman Gaul and Iberia and his conclusions may be relevant to Britain. Perhaps an admission that rather less is known about the pattern of events in Roman Britain than is generally believed would be an appropriate end to this paper.

---

[68] Richmond, I. A., 'Roman Timber Building', in Jope, E.M. (ed.) *'Studies in Building History'* (London, 1961) pp. 15-26.

[69] Jones, E. L., 'The Reduction of Fire Damage in Southern England, 1650-1850' *Post-Med. Arch.* 2 (1968) pp. 140-149.

[70] Boon, G. C., *'Silchester : The Roman Town of Calleva'* (Newton Abbott, 1974), see also *op. cit.*, note 7, p. 381.

[71] Rodwell, W., 'Trinovantian Towns and their Setting : A Case Study', in Rodwell, W. & Rowley, T. (eds.) *'The Small Towns of Roman Britain'* British Archaeological Reports 15 (Oxford, 1975) pp. 86-101.

[72] Wheeler, R. E. M., *'Maiden Castle, Dorset'* Res. Rep. Soc. Ants. 12 (Oxford, 1943).

[73] Mongait, A. L., *'Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.'*, (Harmondsworth, 1961).

[74] c.f. the careful work of Gillam, J. P., Harrison, R. M. & Newman, T. G., 'Interim report on excavations at the Roman fort of Rudchester, 1972', *Arch. Ael. 5th Ser.* 1 (1972) pp. 81-86.

[75] *Op. cit.*, note 2.

[76] *Op. cit.*, note 56.

[77] May, T., 'The Roman Forts at Elslack', *Y.A.J.* 21 (1911) pp. 113-167.

[78] Webster, G., 'Small Towns without Defences', in *op. cit.*, note 71, pp. 53-66.

Acknowledgements

The preservation of a sample of the Malton burnt grain deposit in the Malton Museum was first drawn to my attention by T. G. Manby in 1970 and, through the kind offices of the Museum's Trustees, I was able to examine part of this in 1973. A first draft of this paper was prepared in 1973 and, although Wenham[80] and later Ramm[81] refer to the evidence of insect infestation, the conclusions were regarded as somewhat heretical. The decision to edit and update my original much more detailed and extended text[82] owes much to the encouragement of J. P. Gillam, J. J. Wilkes and D. Breeze, who kindly read through and commented upon it. Useful criticism was also provided by J. M. Buckland, K. J. Edwards, M. F. Tanner and Gudrún Sveinbjarnardóttir.

---

[79] Thompson, E. A., 'Peasant Revolts in Late Roman Gaul and Spain', in Finlay, M.I. (ed.) *'Studies in Ancient Society'*, (London, 1974) pp. 304-320 (re-printed from *Past and Present,* (1952) 2); see also Thompson, E. A., 'Gildas and the History of Britain', *Britannia* 10 (1979) pp. 203-226.

[80] *Op. cit.,* note 48, Wenham, p.

[81] *Op. cit.,* note 15, p. 86.

[82] Included in Buckland, P. C., 'Archaeology and Environment in the Vale of York', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1978.

IRREGULAR VILLAGES IN HOLDERNESS, YORKSHIRE: SOME THOUGHTS ON THEIR ORIGIN

BY MARY HARVEY

The origin and development of the English village has long held a fascination for archaeologists, historians and geographers alike. In recent years especially, considerable advancement has been made in our knowledge through studies at both the micro and macro levels. This work serves to emphasise not only the complexity and changeability of settlements over time, but also the marked variations in form from one area to another. Nowhere is this more striking than in Yorkshire.

Examination of nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps of Yorkshire shows that by that time villages predominated in all parts of the county save for the upland regions of the Pennines in the west. Many were of linear form, with farmsteads and cottages arranged along one or both sides of a street or narrow green. Others were more compact. focusing around either a broad green or a road junction. Although these were less common than linear villages, they occurred throughout the region.

A further contrast of form was between regular and irregular plans. In regular villages the enclosures or tofts usually lay parallel, in rows, and were of similar shape and size. Irregular forms, on the other hand, lacked these characteristics, rarely having a common frontage or symmetry of layout. Both types were important in Yorkshire, but regular plans were located especially in the Vales of York and Pickering, and in the river Tees lowlands. Conversely, irregular villages predominated in eastern Yorkshire and south of the river Aire.

Perhaps because of their distinctiveness, scholars have tended to pay greatest attention to regular plans. Their uniformity and simplicity suggests that they were created as a deliberate act of planning, but unfortunately such events are rarely documented. Almost certainly, however, all but a few were laid out in the medieval period. Sheppard has convincingly argued that a majority originated in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries in a phase of replanning following the devastations caused by William I's armies in the winter of 1069-70.[1] She believes that seignorial lords instigated a recolonisation and redevelopment of their wasted estates, a process which included the creation of new settlements to house the new tenants. Subsequently, other circumstances, such as the amalgamation of neighbouring townships or the action of a powerful lord, might also have resulted in village replanning.[2]

But what of those settlements with irregular layouts? There is a tendency to suppose that they evolved slowly and haphazardly, a process which is usually difficult to trace and examine because of the limited documentation available. Consequently, they have received little detailed analysis by scholars, despite their importance in the settlement pattern. This paper attempts to redress the balance by speculating upon the development of some supposedly unplanned villages in eastern Yorkshire.

---

1. J. A. Sheppard, "Metrological analysis of regular village plans in Yorkshire", *Agricultural History Review* 22 (1974), pp. 118-135; "Medieval village planning in northern England: some evidence from Yorkshire," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2 (1976), pp. 3-20, subsequently referred to as Sheppard, 1976.
2. P. Allerston, "English village development: findings from the Pickering district of North Yorkshire", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 51 (1970), pp. 75-109.

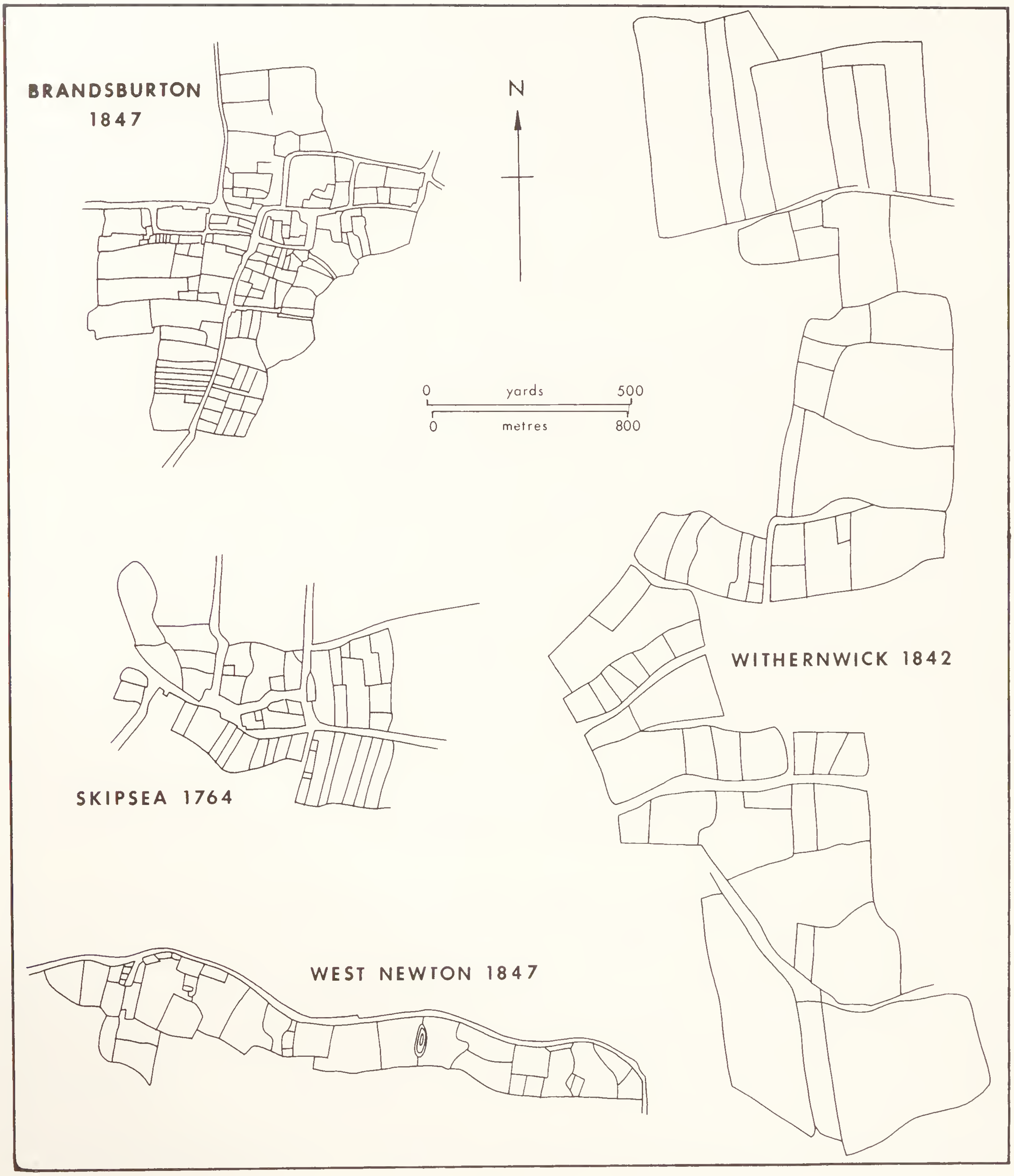


Fig.1

Settlement morphology in Holderness

Holderness is located in the extreme east of the former county of Yorkshire. It is a lowlying, geographically distinct region, being bounded to the east and south by the sea and the river Humber respectively, and to the north and west by the dip slope of the Yorkshire Wolds. The area has, moreover, formed a single administrative unit from an early period, probably being recognised as such from the time of the Scandinavian invasions of the ninth century, if not before.[3]

Settlements in Holderness are remarkable both for their irregularity and their linearity.

---

[3] Holderness is thought to have derived the first element of its name from a Viking "hold" or nobleman, who may have controlled the area after the Scandinavian conquest of the ninth century.

Of those large enough to have a recognisable plan, 64 per cent are linear. Villages over one mile in length are not uncommon, and some extend almost from one township boundary to another. In south Holderness, for example, the tofts of Preston form a line almost two miles long, effectively splitting the village lands into two halves.

A distinction can also be drawn between those villages which had a relatively simple plan in the nineteenth century, and those whose layouts included more than one morphological component. Simple forms could be either clustered or linear. Thus, the tofts of Skipsea in north-east Holderness formed a relatively compact nucleation with the church as a central focus, whilst in contrast, those of West Newton were arranged in a single line strung out along a road. In both cases, however, no additional or contrasting plans were present. Composite villages, on the other hand, usually incorporated both cluster and linear elements within one settlement. For instance, it is possible to identify within the plan of Withernwick at least three groupings of tofts - North End, South End and the more densely developed central part of the village - which were linked together by a single line of large, irregular enclosures. Less common were settlements like Brandsburton which appear to have included several nucleations within a form which itself is more clustered than linear (Fig. 1).

The composite villages are particularly interesting because by their very nature they are unlikely to be a primary form. Their considerable size implies that they are the product of a long period of population growth. Furthermore, the presence in the Holderness settlement pattern of other, much simpler layouts suggests that composite villages may be a secondary development. One possibility, bearing in mind the different morphological components of these settlements, is that they have resulted from the linkage of two or more once separate nuclei. The practice of naming different parts of a village seems to reflect such a situation.

The recognition of "ends" or toft groupings some distance from the main village centre was a distinctive feature of a number of Holderness townships. Thus, Withernwick included "North End" and "South End", divisions which corresponded to the loose clusters of tofts identified at either end of the village. In Preston, the extremities of the linear village were known as East End and West End respectively. Whilst such terminology might simply have reflected the very great length of these settlements, it could equally well have been a means of distinguishing once separate nuclei which later became part of a larger unit.

A similar interpretation can be given of those instances in which a distinction is implied by the use of the terms "great" and "little". Both Little Burton and Little Catwick can be identified as small clusters of tofts within a larger settlement nucleus. In contrast, Great and Little Hatfield and Great and Little Cowden appear as quite separate, although neighbouring settlements. Could they represent nuclei which for some reason failed to coalesce?

The case of Dringhoe, in north Holderness, is central to this argument. The township included two separate settlement nuclei at the time of enclosure in 1762 (Fig. 2).[4] In the west, the hamlet of Upton formed a cluster of small tofts, whilst further east, the tofts of Dringhoe itself were larger and more loosely grouped. Between these two clusters was a ribbon of irregularly shaped enclosures which roughly bisected the township, but did not completely join. Is this, perhaps, an intermediate stage in the evolution of composite villages, with the separate nuclei in this particular case failing to link completely?

Composite villages of the Holderness type are not confined to Yorkshire. Working in the Midlands and East Anglia, Christopher Taylor has identified a number of settlements whose modern plans suggest that they also developed around two or more separate

---

[4] Dringhoe enclosure plan, Humberside County Record Office IA 1762.

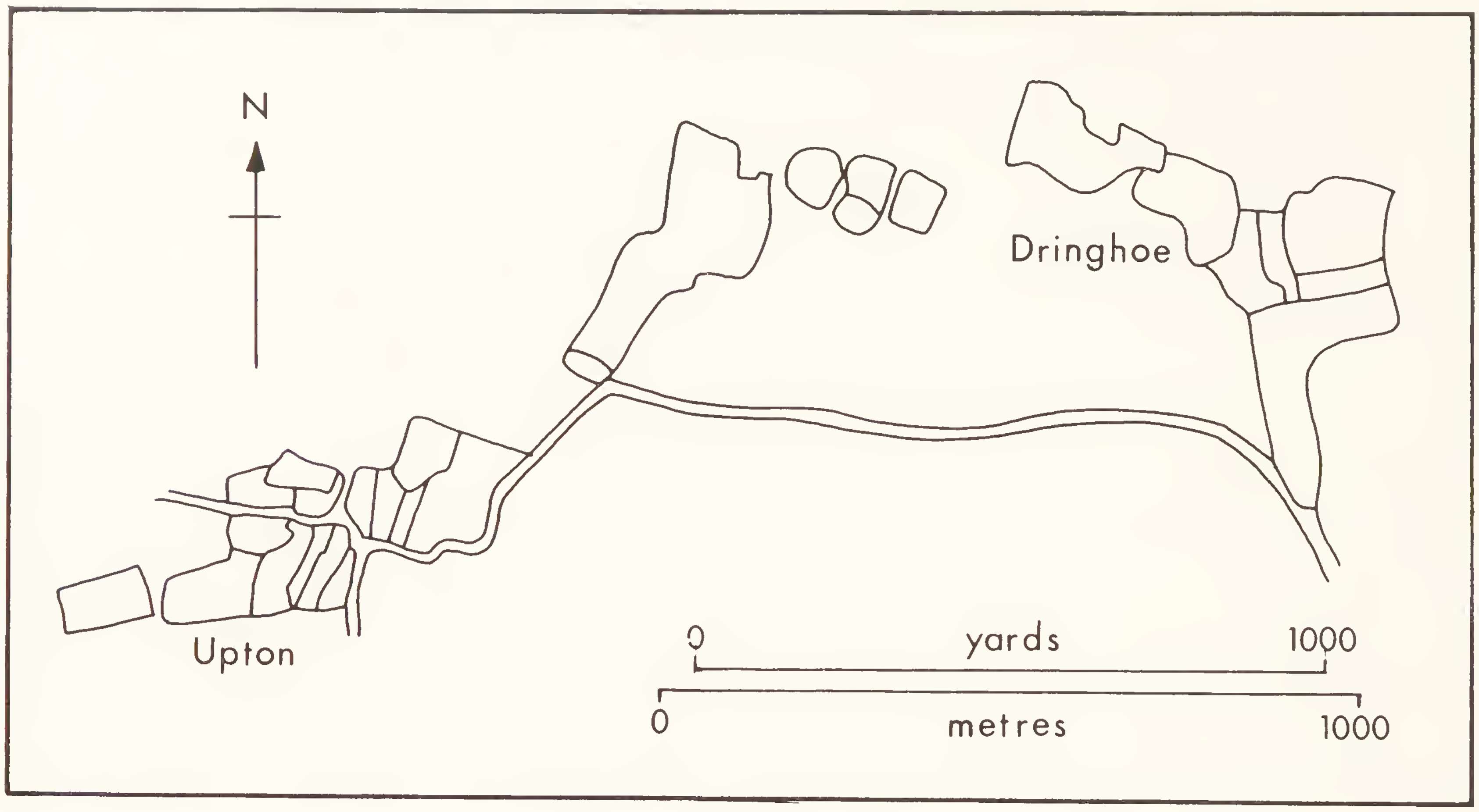


Fig. 2

nuclei.[5] In certain cases, as at Great Shelford in Cambridgeshire, it has even been possible to trace the process and progress of coalescence, so that there can be little doubt of the former separateness of these foci.

Regrettably, village origins in Holderness cannot be traced directly, for both post-medieval and medieval documents rarely contain references to settlement morphology. Cartographic evidence is also very meagre, the earliest maps of the majority of places being eighteenth-and nineteenth-century enclosure plans. Taylor, however, has shown that early tenurial patterns can often indicate the presence of separate nuclei within settlements which subsequently became "polyfocal". In Cambridgeshire, for example, villages with complex morphologies were often associated with more than one estate or manor in the early medieval period, and it was sometimes possible to equate individual manorial holdings with individual foci within the later villages. Thus, the village of Duxford included three distinct nucleations which may be related to three of the four manors listed under Duxford in Domesday Book.[6] If it could be established that in Holderness also, composite forms were associated with complex manorial arrangements, whilst conversely, simple forms had simple manorial structures, then it may be possible to postulate an early pattern of settlement in the area.

Manorial structure in Holderness

Information concerning manorial structure in the Middle Ages is derived principally from a number of feodaries and inquests into landholding. The earliest of these sources, Domesday Book, is also the most detailed, since it records not only the manorial "status" of each place, but also land ownership at two different dates, pre-Conquest and 1086.[7] For this reason it forms the basis for any discussion on manorial patterns.

Arrangements in Holderness in the late eleventh century closely resembled those found throughout northern England at that time, and generally seem to have been more complex than in many other parts of the country.[8] Holderness was dominated by six large estates or sokelands, each of which had a principal manor with dependencies or sokes in several other vills.[9] The largest estate, Aldbrough, had fourteen sokes, Kilnsea, Withernsea and Mappleton each had eleven, whilst Burstwick and Hornsea had five each. Although the majority of sokes were located quite close to the chief vill of each estate, some were considerable distances away. Fitling, for example, was about fifteen miles to the north-west of its principal centre, Kilnsea.

---

[5] C. C. Taylor, *The Cambridgeshire Landscape* (London, 1973), pp. 54-66.

[6] C. C. Taylor, "Polyfocal settlement and the English village," *Medieval Archaeology* 21 (1977), pp. 189-193.

[7] W. Farrer, "Translation of the Yorkshire Domesday" *Victoria County History of Yorkshire* 2 (London, 1912), pp. 191-327.

[8] F. M. Stenton, *Types of manorial structure in the northern Danelaw* (Oxford, 1910).

The presence of these sokelands serves to create an impression of complexity when the manorial structure of individual vills is examined. Although nearly 70 per cent of places recorded in Domesday Book had only one manorial holding, the nature of this holding varied. Apart from the six principal vills of the sokelands, a further twenty-one vills appear to have been self-contained estates or unitary manors. The remaining vills having only one holding were all in a position of dependency. The majority were sokes, although there were also several berewicks.[10]

In complete contrast were the vills which contained more than one manorial holding in 1086. In some cases, a place with a unitary manor was also entered as a soke or berewick belonging to another manor. Thus, Withernwick was recorded as a manor belonging to Drogo, as a berewick of the canons of St. John of Beverley and as a soke of the manor of Mappleton. Other vills contained two or more sokes, each soke being attached to a different estate.

When comparison is made between tenurial arrangements and nineteenth-century village forms, clear correlations emerge. There is a marked tendency for vills containing only one manorial holding in the eleventh century to be associated with simple settlement forms. Indeed, all the vills entered as the chief manors of the sokelands had simple, compact layouts,[11] and of those containing unitary manors only, 80 per cent had either a simple plan or had become deserted. 88 per cent of places recorded as single sokelands also had very simple forms, or else had been deserted. Conversely, only 42 per cent of vills with complex manorial stuctures in Domesday Book had a simple settlement form, and all those nineteenth-century villages displaying extreme complexity of form appear to have been places associated with more than one holding in the early Middle Ages.

There are, of course, obvious dangers in overstressing the importance of these relationships. Too little is yet known of the links between early manorial patterns and settlements to allow firm conclusions to be drawn. Nor has it been the purpose of this paper to examine manorial and tenurial changes over time. Nevertheless, it is significant that the evidence of manorial structure in no way contradicts that drawn from the analysis of village morphology: that some complex village forms could have evolved through the linking up of several once separate nuclei whose presence is indicated by a complex manorial structure. it would further imply that at an early period, small settlement nuclei were far more common in Holderness than later patterns might suggest.

Such a conclusion itself raises further questions. Under what circumstances and at what time might the coelescence of hamlets have taken place? What factors could have caused some to link when others apparently remained separate? Here again there is no extant documentary evidence with which to examine these problems, but they can be approached indirectly, through a study of the arable fields associated with the settlements.

---

[9] "Vills" were the units to which place names were attached in Domesday Book.

[10] A berewick was an outlying or detached part of a manor, the soil of which belonged to the lord of the parent manor.

[11] The complete plan of Kilnsea is not known, because coastal erosion had already destroyed part of the township by the time of the earliest surviving map in 1818.

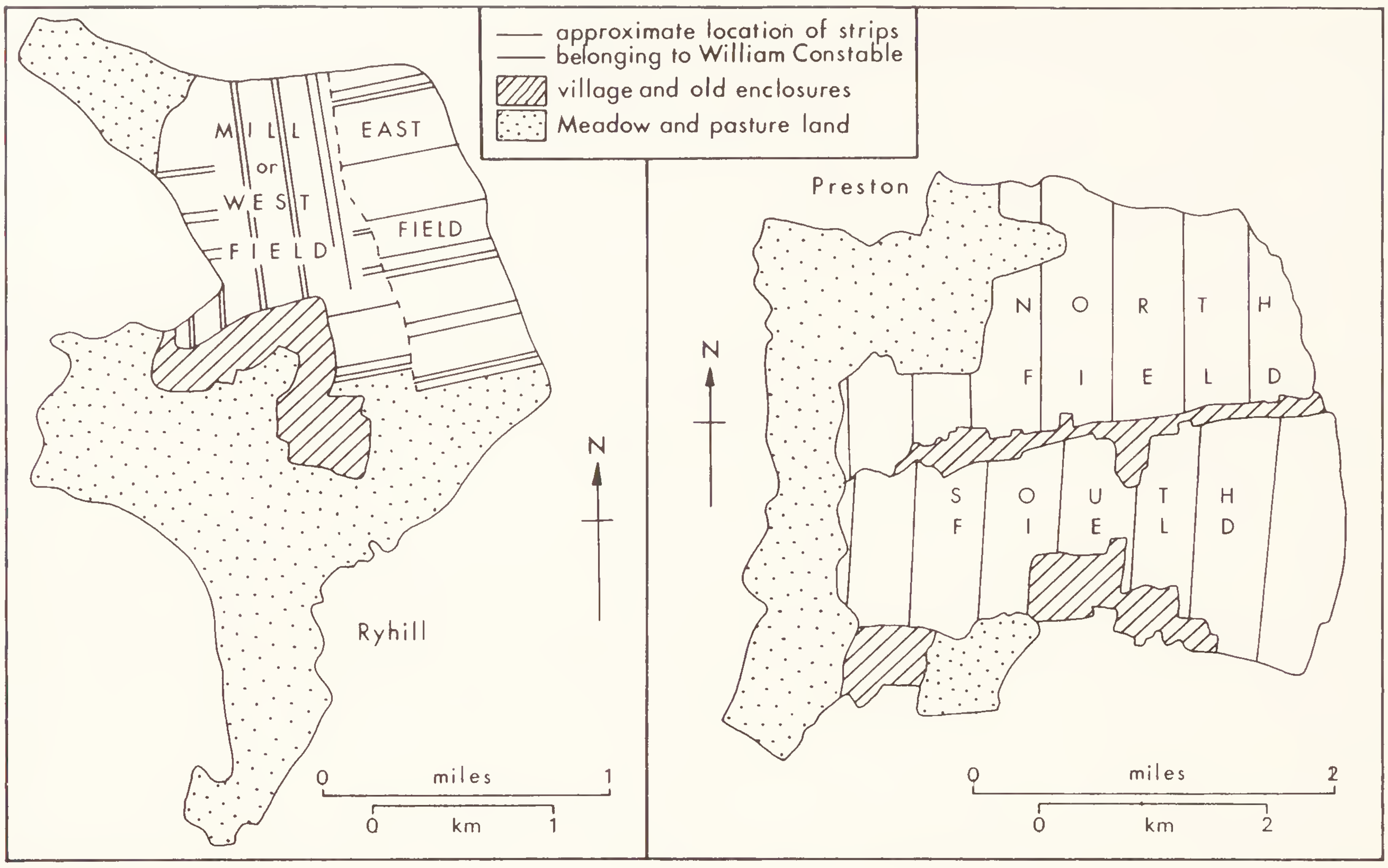


Fig.3

Field and tenurial structure

If small hamlets were once more common in the Holderness settlement pattern, then the question arises of how the arable land was organised. Did neighbouring nuclei jointly share one economic system or did some at least cultivate and organise their arable land independently? Study of pre-enclosure field patterns in the area reveals no obvious answers, although one point is very evident. The open fields of composite villages formed a single morphological and functional system, identical to those of simple villages, and there is no evidence of any subdivisions having association with different parts of a village. If, therefore, at least some complex settlements had originated through the linkage of independent hamlets cultivating their own field or fields, a fundamental reorganisation of this land and the associated farm holdings would have been necessary in order to create the arrangements which later prevailed.

A further feature of significance revealed by a study of Holderness field systems was their simplicity and uniformity of layout.[12] Instead of the complex patch-work-like appearance of furlongs and strips observed in many parts of England, strips in Holderness open fields normally lay parallel throughout the greater part of a field. Many were of considerable length, extending in some cases for over one mile from one field boundary to another. In most townships the arable acreage was extensive, but was usually divided into only by two fields. The layout of the farm holdings mirrored this structural simplicity. Strips belonging to particular holdings were not normally scattered haphazardly through the fields and furlongs, but had the same relative locations, with identical neighbours, in all parts of the fields. These features were observed in almost all Holderness townships for which suitable documentation is available, and were present in both the post-medieval and medieval periods. They were, moreover, associated with both simple and composite forms of settlement.

This latter point is particularly well demonstrated by the neighbouring south Holderness townships of Preston and Ryhill (Fig. 3). The village of Preston is structurally complex, comprising a line of enclosures nearly two miles long, and evidence of at least three foci within it - the village centre, West End and East End. Ryhill, in contrast, is a small, relatively compact village. Both townships, however, had very similar open field systems. Strips in the North Field and South of Preston, and in the East Field and West Field of Ryhill had a common orientation throughout the greater part of each field, and were often over one mile in length. Few subdivisions or furlongs occurred in the fields of either village. Farm holdings were also laid out in an ordered manner in both townships.[13]

---

[12] M. Harvey, "Regular field and tenurial arrangements in Holderness, Yorkshire", *Journal of Historical Geography* 6 (1980), forthcoming, subsequently referred to as Harvey, 1980.

There seems every likelihood that both the simple field layout and regular ordering of holdings had a planned origin. Such characteristics are incompatible with the complexity and irregularity usually associated with slow evolutionary development.[14] Furthermore, it is improbable that townships in all parts of Holderness would have developed virtually identical arrangements if each had evolved independently. Some factor must have operated throughout the area in order to produce forms of such similarity. Unfortunately, it seems clear that any such planning must have occurred before documentation becomes of sufficient quantity or quality to reveal details of township morphology. The earliest such documents, of late thirteenth-century date, all suggest that simple field form and regular ordering of holdings were present in Holderness by that time. Any attempt to examine the origins of, and the circumstances underlying the planning must depend, therefore, on the more general, often circumstantial evidence for the historical development of the area.

An examination of this evidence has suggested that the most likely period for planning to have occurred is between the late ninth century and the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries.[15] It is improbable that circumstances existed before this time which would account for the presence of fully-developed field and tenurial arrangements similar to those observed in later centuries. Most scholars now believe that fully-developed open field systems are unlikely to have emerged anywhere in England until the ninth or tenth centuries at the earliest,[16] whilst it seems unlikely that populations were large enough at any one time to necessitate the cultivation of entire township areas. Furthermore, achieving the degree of uniformity of arrangements observed throughout Holderness must have required some overall control and direction. It is doubtful whether such unity existed in the area before the late ninth century. Equally, however, it is difficult to see this final requirement appertaining to the period after the early twelfth century. Land ownership structure in particular was probably far too complex by that time for uniform arrangments to have been established over the whole region. These criteria would thus seem to indicate that planning occurred at some time between the late ninth and early twelfth centuries. One possibility is that it was associated with a major reorganisation of estates instigated by the lords of Holderness in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. Examples of planned changes elsewhere in northern England in the early Middle Ages have shown the strength of baronial power in altering existing patterns.[17] There is, however, no positive evidence as yet that this was the policy of the Holderness lords.

Any field planning has significant implications for the study of composite villages, for

---

13. M. Harvey, *The morphogenetic and tenurial structure of a Yorkshire township: Preston in Holderness 1066-1750*, Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London, Occasional Papers 13 (1978).
14. Compare, for example, the evolution of the fields of Wheldrake, Yorks., described in J. A. Sheppard, "Pre-enclosure field and settlement patterns in an English township: Wheldrake near York", *Geografiska Annaler* 48 (1966), pp. 59-77.
15. Harvey, 1980.
16. J. Thirsk, "The common fields" *Past and Present* 29 (1964), pp. 3-25; H. P. R. Finberg "Anglo-Saxon England to 1042", pp. 487-93 in H. P. R. Finberg (Ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales AD 43 - 1042* (The agrarian history of England and Wales Ed. H. P. R. Finberg 1 part ii Cambridge 1972).
17. Sheppard, 1976.

if at least some of these settlements developed through the linkage of once independent nuclei as postulated above, then this linkage must have occurred either before or at the same time as the implementation of planned field layouts. This does not necessarily mean that the foci themselves became physically linked by the twelfth century at the latest, but that they came to be treated not as separate entities but as a single economic community.

One final question remains to be asked: under what circumstances might neighbouring communities lose a degree of autonomy and come together to form a larger economic unit? Presumably, such amalgamation would be unlikely to occur if, for instance, each separate settlement was held by a different landowner. On the other hand, if a situation developed in which uniformity of landownership prevailed, a reorganisation of communities on the lines suggested could be more readily explained. It is, moreover, just possible that the circumstances which could have resulted in the development of planned fields might also have favoured the amalgamation of separate tenurial units.

Domesday Book indicates that in 1065 landownership patterns in Holderness were complex. No large landowner was present in the area, and in places which had a complex manorial structure, each holding was usually held by a different lord. Thus, Sproatley was divided between the Archbishop of York, the earls Tostig and Morcar, and three other people. If each held a separate settlement nuclei as has been suggested, it seems unlikely that such complexity of landownership would result in any settlement linkage at this time. Following the Conquest, however, the whole of Holderness, apart from the land of the Archbishop of York and the canons of St. John of Beverley, was granted to one man, Drogo de Bevrere, and subsequently to the earls of Albemarle. This would mean that in the case of Sproatley, for example, all parts save that of the Archbishop came into the hands of the same lord. Linkage under these circumstances would seem more feasible, even though the reasons for it are not immediately apparent. Possibly it afforded opportunities for estate rationalisation, with the aim of creating larger, more economic units.[18] This might explain why some settlements, often the larger (for example, chief manors of sokelands), remained as single units with a very simple settlement form, even though their fields appear to have been replanned. On this basis also, it would seem reasonable to suppose that any settlements inconveniently positioned relative to the new field divisions would be destroyed and their inhabitants moved to the new focus of settlement.

A model of township development

From the above discussion, it now becomes possible to suggest a series of stages through which Holderness settlements and fields might have passed.

1. An early dispersed settlement pattern dominated by hamlets and isolated farms. At least some of these cultivated their own arable field or fields independently of their neighbours.
2. Major reorganisation occurred (possibly in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries). This involved in some cases the grouping of neighbouring settlements to form fewer, but larger economic units. The separate fields were amalgamated and replanned in an ordered, simple manner, with a settlement strip, composed of two or more hamlet nuclei, dividing the cultivated land into two halves. Any settlements which could not be conveniently absorbed into this strip were probably destroyed or left as independent units. Farm holdings were laid out in an ordered fashion
3. As subsequent changes in population occurred, it is likely that the original hamlets within a settlement strip would become joined as new farmsteads were added. It is also

---

[18] A possibility suggested by W. E. Wightman, "The significance of "waste" in the Yorkshire Domesday," *Northern History* 10 (1975), pp. 55-71.

likely that the fields were redivided in order to create more farm holdings as population increased.

It must be stressed that this "model" is based only upon conjecture, and other explanations for Holderness forms cannot be excluded. If, for instance, neighbouring hamlets had jointly shared in the same field system, some sort of association between them would always have existed, and linkage might have occurred quite naturally through population growth. Moreover, in this case, planning of the fields could not be used as a guide for dating the development of composite settlements. Alternatively, linkage may have occurred much earlier than is suggested here, possibly involving an even earlier field reorganisation which later planned forms have obscurred.

It is questionable also, whether the model proposed above is of very great relevance outside the Holderness situation. In all probability, the conditions which may have resulted in the development of these irregular composite linear settlements were peculiar to that area. Certainly, there is little evidence elsewhere for the wholesale replanning of fields which seems to have occurred in Holderness. Yet the presence of similar settlement forms elsewhere in Yorkshire begs the question of how linkage took place in these cases. Possibly in at least some, a degree of reorganisation was also involved. This may not have taken such a formalised nature as that suggested for Holderness, but it might still have involved the purposeful intervention of a lord or even of the whole community. It is a salutary thought that whilst Holderness forms bear very little resemblance to the regular layouts of central Yorkshire, both could have arisen through an element of deliberate planning in the landscape.

Finally, it must be emphasised that no definitive analysis of settlement origins and development is really possible without an inter-disciplinary approach to such studies. The shortcomings of this paper rest on the inability of documentary evidence to provide real proof of the processes of settlement evolution. Unless the scope of analysis can be widened to include detailed archaeological work, the lines of development postulated here must remain a matter for speculation and debate.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIEVAL RIPON

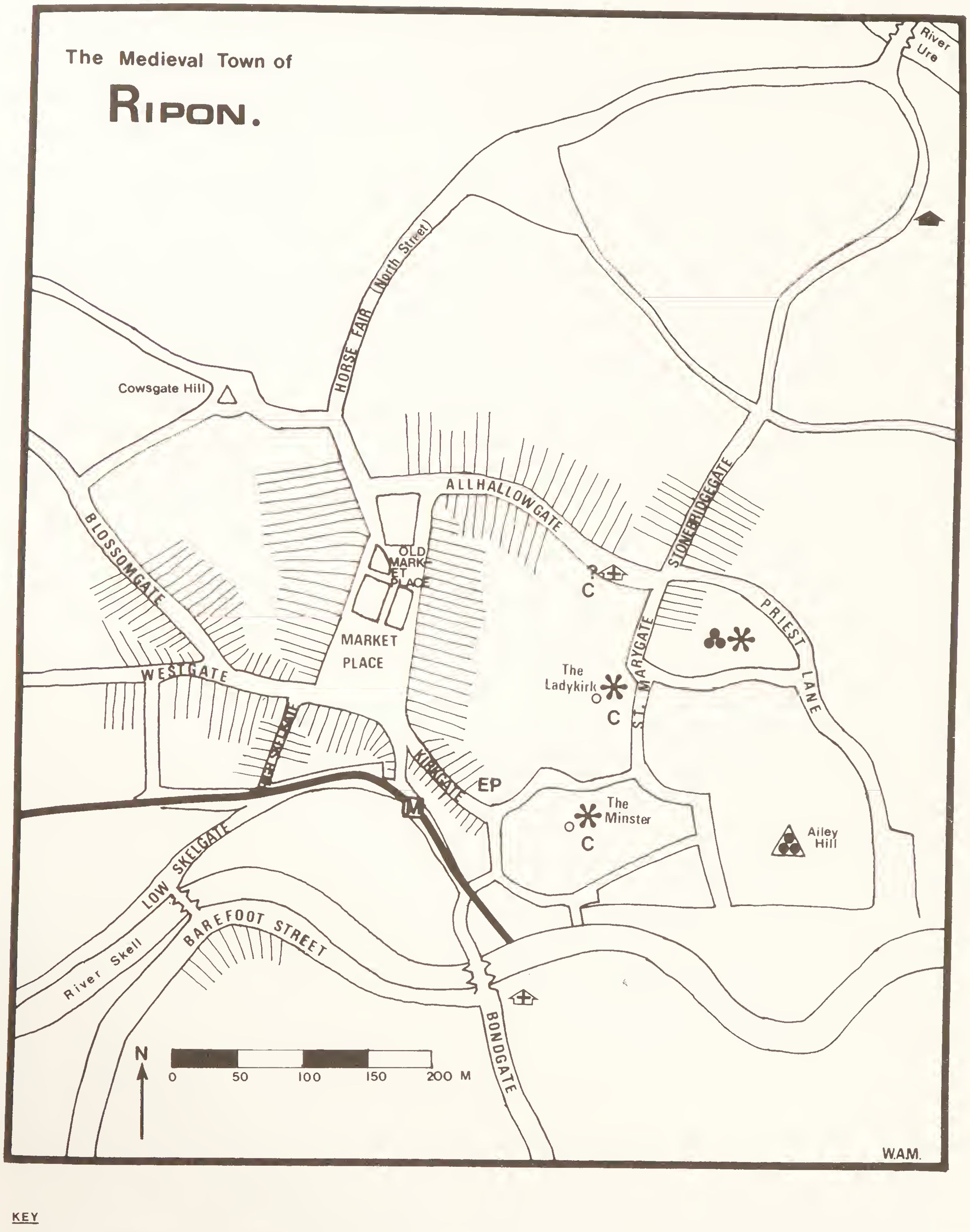
By William MacKay

For Ripon, as for many other towns, the twelfth century was a period of expansion. The first half of the century saw Thurstan, the Archbishop of York (d.1140) obtaining privileges and founding new institutions. It was he who secured the royal recognition of the right of Ripon to hold a fair during the feast of St. Wilfrid in April, "two days before the feast, on the day of the feast and on the day after."[1] This not inconsiderable privilege survives recorded in a royal writ of Henry I[2] to his sheriffs and ministers in Yorkshire, which can be dated to before 1130.[3] This right received further legal recognition in the early years of the reign of Stephen, who also gave recognition to the holding of a weekly market on a Wednesday.[4] Thurstan acted very much like any other magnate in this period when he fostered and encouraged the growth of Ripon. His developing a legally recognised fair and market within royal jurisdiction was in many ways little different to the activities of the earls of Richmond. Between 1067 and 1136 they had for similar reasons encouraged the development of a borough with burgesses beneath the castle to the extent that by 1145 Richmond had risen out of very little to be a borough in fee farm worth £27.[5] Similar activity occurs in many other towns, notably at Nottingham and Hereford during the same period.[6]

Thurstan would appear to have been a patron of both secular and ecclesiastical development at Ripon with the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen (see map) later claiming to have been founded by him.[7] It is in the ecclesiastical sphere that the expansion of Ripon can be discerned largely because the chief surviving evidence lies in documents concerning church affairs. During the archiepiscopacy of Roger II (1154 - 81), a rebuilding of the Minster was undertaken and this suggests that a new structure was required because the prestige of the chapter and the name of St. Wilfrid was growing,[8] events probably not unrelated to the growth of Ripon itself as a centre. The rebuilding of the Minster was encouraged by the archbishop with Roger II himself granting £1000

---

1. Fowler, J. T., 1881; *Memorials of Ripon* Vol. 1. p. 39: Farrar, E., 1914; *Early Yorkshire Charters* Vol. 1, p. 108, No. 115. Latin reads "per quatuor dies ad festum sci. Wilfridi de Aprili, duobus diebus ante festum, et die festi et in crastino".
2. This was a not inconsiderable privilege for the majority of fairs and markets received royal recognition only after 1200. Only two fairs are recorded in Domesday book. See Coates, B.E., 1965; "The Origin and Distribution of Markets and Fairs in Medieval Derbyshire" in *Derbys. Archae. Jnl.* 85, (1965); pp 92-111. Also on same subject; Palliser, D.M., and Pinnock, A.C., 1971; *North Staffs Jnl of Field Studies,* 11, (1971) p. 52: Platt, C., 1976; *The English Medieval Town,* p. 31.
3. The writ must date prior to 1130, but after the accession of Thurstan in 1114, for it is attested by Geoffrey de Clinton who fell from grace at the Court of Henry I in 1130. See; Southern, R. W., 1962; "The Place of Henry I in English History"; *Proc. Brit. Acad.* XLVIII, (1962), pp. 127-69.
4. Fowler, J. T., 1881: p. 95. It subsequently changed by 1291 to be held on a Thursday, on which day it still is.
5. Beresford, M. W., and Finberg, H.P.R., 1975; "*English Medieval Boroughs; A Handlist.*" p. 187.
6. See in Lobel, M.D., (Ed) 1963; *Historic Towns* Vol. 1. Both Hereford and Nottingham are considered here.
7. Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 235 No. CXVIII.
8. The rebuilding was spread over a number of years on a stop-go basis according to the availability of funds. For evidence of the strength of the cult of St. Wilfrid see the description of the standard at The Battle of the Standard in 1138 in Saywell, J.L., 1885; *History and Annals of Northallerton.* Also see the insult committed by Alan of Richmond, when he paraded his forces in the Minster in 1143. See Chronicle of John of Hexham, relevant portion printed in Fowler, J.T., 1881; p. 47.



KEY

✱ ······· Pre-Conquest Structures

● ······· Finds of Stycas

○ ······· Anglian Sculpture / Gold Pendant

C ······· Cemeteries

EP ······· Archiepiscopal Palace (Part of "Old" Ripon, existant before 1200)

[M] ······· The Byemilne

━ ······· The Mill Race

▲ ······· St. Mary Magdalen Hospital

✠ ······· St. John's Chapel, Bondgate (A twelfth-century foundation)

? ✠ ······· Lost Church of All Hallows

▨ ······· Burgages

KIRKGATE ······· Principal Streets

"veteris monetae" towards the rebuilding just before his death.[9] The reconstruction also had the added advantage along with the residence of the archbishop at Ripon for quite lengthy periods of bringing skilled craftsmen to Ripon, two of whom "Widone Aurifabro", a goldsmith, and "Arturo Masoun", a mason, appear as witnesses in a late twelfth-century charter.[10]

It is from the late twelfth century that the first indications of expansion and change first appear. Expansion is suggested by an undated charter attributed to this period by Fowler, making provision for the expansion of a cemetery at Ripon,[11] an action that probably represents a need for more burial space because of there being more people to inter. From the same period survive the extensive records of the Pipe Rolls and it is in these that the real evidence of expansion and change first appears. In the records for 1194 Ripon is referred to as a borough for the first time, a fact often regarded as a significant landmark in the development of an English town.[12] In 1194, Ripon was paying the not inconsiderable sum of £36 13*s* 4*d* for the farm of the town.[13] More important and much clearer is an entry in the 1197 Pipe Roll stating that the burgesses of Ripon owed £10 for holding their freedom, an important statement in that it actually states that people of special burghal status were living at Ripon.[14]

Additional important evidence also exists in the 1195 Pipe Roll when the yield of Ripon and all that pertained to it, that is tithes, rights and dues, was £62 8*s*, a considerable sum.[15] To gauge the quantity of this, it has only to be compared to Beverley, which gained borough status before 1130, when Thurstan had granted it all the rights and liberties held by York.[16] In 1195 the yield of the borough of Beverley was £44 2*s*.[17] Hence Ripon, first mentioned as a borough in 1194, was yielding considerably more than Beverley, which according to the documentary evidence was a considerably older borough. The consequence of this fact would tend to suggest that Ripon itself may already have been an established borough long before 1194, but failed to leave any records of its existence in the documentary evidence. In view of the connections of Thurstan with both Beverley and Ripon and his activities in encouraging economic and population growth at both centres, it may well be that Ripon achieved at least a measure of burghal status as early as the reign of Henry I. Such could only explain, along with the fairs and markets, the enormous yields of Ripon in the 1190s.

It is by no means clear where the expansion of the twelfth century took place at Ripon. The earliest areas of settlement would appear to have been to the east of the modern town, based upon the Stonebridgegate - St. Marygate route of access to the Minster. In the 1228 court case[18] between the chapter and the archbishop over jurisdictional and territorial rights at Ripon, this area formed the core of the lands held by the chapter. From the court case evidence the jury found that the chapter claimed to possess:

> The whole of Staynebriggegate (Stonebridgegate) and Prestelay (Priest Lane) and everything behind up to the place called Bawdewynkeld (unidentified)

---

[9] Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 47.

[10] Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 93. Fowler suggests that Arturo Masoun may have been involved in rebuilding the Minster.

[11] Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 97/8.

[12] The definitive work on the subject of English boroughs is that of Tait, J., *The English Medieval Borough*, published in 1936.

[13] Stenton, D.M., (Ed), 1928; *1194 Pipe Roll (6 Rich. I)*, Pipe Rolls Soc. 1928; p. 164. Reads "Et de XXXVI li. et XIIIs. et IIII d. de Ripun firma infra burgum de dimidio anno. . ."

[14] Stenton, D.M., (Ed), 1931; *1197 Pipe Roll (9 Rich. I)*, Pipe Rolls Soc. 1931; p. 59. Reads "Burgenses de Ripon debent X li. pro habenda libertate sua."

[15] Stenton, D.M., (Ed), 1929; *1195 Pipe Roll (7 Rich. I)*, Pipe Rolls Soc. 1929. p. 30.

[16] Farrer, E., 1914; p. 90.

[17] Op. Cit. p. 30.

[18] Fowler, J. T., 1881; pp. 51-63.

> and everything behind the Canon's Courts. From the hill called Elueshowe (Ailey Hill) to the place where four roads meet which leads towards the Archbishop's Market Place *(Forum),* and this on both sides of the road. From the Hill of All Hallows to the angle of the said road junction with the Chapel of St. Mary (The Ladykirk).[19]

This formed the main block of land held by the Chapter at Ripon and essentially comprised the area that forms the pre-conquest, and probably also the Anglian monastic centre. This unit of land holding probably survived the destruction of the Monastery by Edred in 948, as likewise did the grant of St Wilfrid's league by Athelstan (c.924).[20]

Various discoveries made during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and recorded by the locally born historian J. R. Walbran help to suggest that this was the area of earliest settlement largely connected with the Monastery.[21] He recorded the finding of a cemetery on All Hallows Hill (see map) consisting of a number of burials that appeared to have had a Christian burial and one of which was found to have an iron cross placed upon the breast.[22] Unfortunately it is impossible to place an exact date upon this cemetery, but its location tends to suggest that it might have been connected with the lost parish church of All Hallows mentioned by John Leland in the sixteenth century and which he felt had stood in that area.[23] (see map). This lost church is rather a mystery, for nowhere in all the documentary material related to Ripon does it receive a mention, not even in the 1228 court case, which may suggest that by the thirteenth century, when records became more common, it was already abandoned and lost. If so then such a church needs to be considered among the earliest structures at Ripon, and hence connected with the earliest area of settlement.

Walbran provides further valuable information concerning early finds in this part of Ripon. Where now a recently constructed building stands, in a triangle of land bounded by Priest Lane, Residence Lane and St. Marygate is an area long marked on maps as the site of the "Scots Monastery".[24] From this area Walbran recorded the discovery of ninth-century Northumbrian bronze coins known as Stycas, the foundations of a wall composed of large stones and a cylindrical column of grit stone 4ft. 5 inches in circumference.[25] (see map). Further south on Ailey Hill there was discovered in 1695 a significant hoard of similar stycas[26] and these finds at both locations tend to suggest Anglian activity upon the sites or in the area, and this may have been linked with the monastery at Ripon.

The most notable survival from this early period was the Ladykirk, that stood intact in

---

[19] Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 60. Reads, "Per totum Staynebriggegat et Prestlay, et totum retro usque locum qui vocatur Bawdewynkeld, et totum retro curias canonicorum, et a monte qui vocatur Elueshowe, usque quadrivium quod ducit versus forum archiepiscopi, et hoc ex utraque parte viae et a monte Omnium Sanctorum usque angulum quadrivii praedicti et ab inde versus ecclesiam totum ex utraque parte viae cum capella beatae Mariae. . ."

[20] Fowler states his source for the grant of Athelstan as Dugdale, 1819; *Monasticon* II, p. 132. Stenton places a date of c. 924 on its being given, see Stenton, F. M., 1971; *Anglo Saxon England,* 3rd Ed^{n}. p. 342. The importance of this grant survived the troubles of tenth century Northumbria, as also did on a larger level between 867 and 1020, the integrity of the estates of the Archbishop of York. See Stevenson, W. H., 1912: "Yorkshire Surveys and other Eleventh Century documents in the York Gospels". *E.H.R.* XXVII, (1912), pp. 1-25.

[21] See Walbran, J. R., *A Guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey, Harrogate, Bolton Percy and several places of interest in the Vicinity*. 11th Edn. 1875.

[22] Walbran, J. R., 1875; p. 33.

[23] Toulmin-Smith, L., (Ed), 1907; *The Itinerary of John Leland in England* Vol. 1. p. 81. He wrote "There hath bene about the north part of the olde towne a paroch church by the name of Alhalowes".

[24] Eg. That of T. Jefferys in 1771, another of 1820 and the first 1:63360 Ordnance Survey.

[25] Walbran, J. R., 1875; p. 23-4.

[26] Thompson, J. D. A., 1956; *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600 - 1500.* Royal Numismatic Society. pp. 117-118.

1228 and also in 1545 when Leland recorded it.[27] He referred to there being three crosses standing near this building which he felt were "thinges antiquissimi operis and monumentes of sum notable men buried there".[28] Fragments of Anglian sculpure, possibly portions of the same crosses have since been found near the site in the nineteenth century.[29] The existence of the Chapel has been further enforced by the discovery of a cemetery in recent excavations to the north-east of the old deanery, to the south of the Ladykirk site, and this may well have been connected with the Ladykirk. Unfortunately specifically Anglian origins for this building cannot be stated with certainty despite the discovery in the excavations of a fine late seventh-century gold, amber and garnet pendant, which was stratified in a later medieval context.[30] Despite that the Ripon chapel of the Virgin Mary does have a parallel in that at Hexham, which was closely connected to the monastery at Ripon in Anglian times. Like the Ripon Ladykirk that at Hexham similarly stood close to the Cathedral[31] and it was according to Eddius, the eighth-century biographer of Wilfrid, built after a vision which Wilfrid received at Meaux near Paris when he was ill, in which an angel exhorted him to build a chapel to the Virgin. Eddius tells us how Wilfrid on recovery related this incident to Acca, later his heir at Hexham.[32] This command was then presumably carried out hence allowing Eddius the reason for including it in the Life of St. Wilfrid. Indeed Eddius may have been recording the event not only for the sake of Hexham, but also for Ripon too, at which he wrote, and it would seem not impossible that the command of the Angel was carried out at both Hexham and Ripon by the heirs of Wilfrid at each site, Acca and Tatbercht. If this suggestion is so, then the Ladykirk would be one of the earliest buildings at Ripon, and was probably situated upon the original monastic precincts.

These finds, all on the east side of modern Ripon, form the evidence for the earliest settlement at Ripon. Alongside them must also be included the "Archbishop's Mill called Bymylne" as it was recorded in 1228[33], which in 1086 was recorded as standing on the archbishop's demesne.[34] The site of this structure (see map) can be located with a fair degree of certainty as being at the bottom of Duck Hill from an early eighteenth-century reference which refers to a lease of a waterdriven Mill called "Byemill" at Duck Hill in Ripon.[35] This stood on the former mill race, the course of which is preserved in Water Skelgate, must also be considered an early feature of Ripon.[36] So also must the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen which in the fourteenth century claimed to have been founded by Thurstan and of which certain elements of the present chapel, notably the doorway, are twelfth-century in date. Its location fits well with the pattern already established that the oldest settlement at Ripon was to the east of the modern town centre and this upon the road running due north from the Minster to the Ure, was until at least the twelfth century the chief area of settlement at Ripon.

---

27. Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 60. Toulmin-Smith, L., 1907. p. 81.
28. Op. Cit.
29. Walbran, J. R., 1875; p. 32. The publication of this excavation and others undertaken at Ripon between 1955 and 1978, is eagerly awaited.
30. Assigned to the seventh century by Professor R. J. Cramp. Now exhibited in the crypt treasury of Ripon Cathedral.
31. Hodges, C. C., and Gibson, J., 1909; *"Hexham and its Abbey."*. pp. 109-110.
32. Colgrave, B., (Ed). 1927; *"The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus."* Ch.LVII p. 122-3.
33. Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 60. Reads ". . . et totum a molendino archiepiscopi qui vocatur Bymylne."
34. *Victoria County History County of York,* Vol. 2 (1912), p. 214. "Archbishop Thomas has in demesne 2 carucates and 1 mill worth 10 shillings."
35. Vyner, M. S. S., No. 4170. I am indebted to Barry Harrison and Mike Younge for this information on the Ripon Watermill.
36. The existence of an extensive mill race to provide enough head of water for the mill is notable, as few examples of deliberately man made mill races are known with any precision prior to the thirteenth century. That of Ripon probably drew its water from the River Laver just before its confluence with the Skell.

Such a suggestion would correspond with the comment of Leland on the lost church of All Hallows, which he referred to as having been "about the north part of the olde towne".[37] Leland distinguished this area from a newer part of the town which he considered to be the area of the market place which he regarded as being of a "newer buyldnge".[38] This consequently raises the question of whether this area was the manifestation of the expansion strongly suggested in the twelfth-century documentary evidence.

The most important indications of whether the market place was a twelfth-century creation or not, lie in the evidence of the 1228 court case. This is singularly unhelpful about any settlement in the vicinity of the present market place. It does however refer to "the place where four roads meet which leads towards the archbishop's market place".[39] The place where four roads meet may be taken as the point where Allhallowgate, Stonebridgegate, Priest Lane and St. Marygate meet and where now in one corner the Fleece Inn stands (see map). The second part of the statement is not at all clear, but in view of the often vague manner by which land claimed by the chapter is described in the court case,[40] this probably means that from this point by following Allhallowgate one reached the Archbishop's Market which is distinguished as such presumably because he held jurisdiction over it. But by following Allhallowgate one does not arrive at the modern market place, although you do emerge quite close to a small area known as the Old Market Place (see map) since at least 1771 when Thomas Jefferys recorded it as such.[41]

This may well be significant and the site of the oldest market place at Ripon may be on this location, as its name infers. It may also have once been much bigger and have stretched to reach the west end of Allhallowgate, from which it is now shut off and confined to a small area by a rectangular block of buildings, which includes the Black Bull Hotel. Despite this, the fact remains that this area best fits the suggestion of 1228 that here was the archbishop's market place. This may well have been the heart of the town in the mid-thirteenth century for close to here the first references to burgage tenures, so evident around here on later maps, occur. From Allhallowgate two deeds survive, which can be dated through the witnesses to C.1250. The first is a sale of a burgage "in Rypona in the street of all saints (Allhallowgate), lying between the burgage of John de Ebor and that of John de Panahal".[42] The second, likewise a sale of another burgage, may be assumed to be in the same area as the first, being bounded by land of John de Ebor[43]. These two deeds form the earliest evidence of burgage tenures in Ripon, and they suggest that in 1250 the centre of the town was to the north of its present location, being around the Old Market Place, and the Allhallowgate area. The evidence would consequently seem to suggest that this area was the centre of thirteenth-century Ripon, and it represented a movement away from the area of original settlement at Ripon, that took place probably before 1228. The Old Market Place and the west end of Allhallowgate may well be the manifestatation of the twelfth-century expansion.

This does not solve the problem of when the present market place, Leland's area of

---

37. Toulmin-Smith, L., (Ed.). 1907; p. 81.
38. Op. Cit. pp. 81-2.
39. Op. Cit.
40. An example of such vagueness in this court case is "A half part of the whole road called Skelgate and especially between the Waters." This probably refers to low Skelgate which lay between the courses of the Mill race and the river Skell. To the modern reader the meaning of this is by no means obvious.
41. Jefferys produced a map of Ripon inset in his greater map of Yorkshire. This map is the first really useful one of the street plan of Ripon.
42. Clay, C. T., (Ed), *Yorkshire Deeds*, Vol. 8, Y.A.S.R.S., Cll, 1940; p. 96. One of the witnesses was Sir John de Thorncotys, known to have been bailiff of Ripon, and who witnessed a 1258 Charter in the Fountains Cartulary.
43. Clay, C. T., (Ed) 1940; p. 97. No. 275.

"newer buyldnge", came into existence. In 1250, as already shown, the main centre was to the north of this, based upon Allhallowgate. Inevitably there are gaps in the chronology, but sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century a movement to the south, to include areas of the present market place, must have taken place. The first reference to the Market Place dates from 1281 when it appears as "Le Merketstede",[44] a form which Leland used when he referred to the "Market Stede",[45] which before that occurs not infrequently, including amongst the records of the 1379 Poll Tax which uses the form of "Markettesteed".[46] The first reference to a burgage in this area dates from 1305,[47] by which date the market place may well have assumed something of its present form with a Westgate burgage being recorded two years later.[48] Evidence also exists for property extending further afield with there being a 1315 reference to a house in Blossomgate.[49] although this need not necessarily have been a burgaged property. These various references taken together tend to suggest that by 1320 Ripon had expanded southwards from the Allhallowgate-Horsefair (North Street) junction (see map) to include burgages down as far as Westgate and Blossomgate, and their existence strongly supports the present market place being there too by the fourteenth century, thus suggesting a second half of the thirteenth century date for its creation.

Indeed by 1320 Ripon may have already begun to take on the form that was to survive until the expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although no mention of any burgage tenures exist for Skelgate, there may have been some properties here as early as 1228, when the area that corresponds with low Skelgate is referred to in the court case as having a few properties.[50] By 1320 Ripon would also seem to have extended beyond Skelgate to Barefoot Street, which receives a mention as Berfotgate, in a grant of a burgage in 1318.[51] Other streets which have a clear pattern of burgaged property on later maps and in existence in the fourteenth century include Kirkgate mentioned in an interesting obiit of 1349 with reference to "Shoppys in Le Kyrkgate".[52] It preserves an identifiable pattern of burgage tenures, clearly visible on nineteenth-century maps, as also are others around the Fleece Inn cross roads in "Old" Ripon, namely in Stonebridgegate and St. Marygate. The status of plots here though is not clear as no specific reference to burgages in this area exist from this period, but plentiful sales of "Tofts" and "Messuages" do. However this area was clearly one of considerable settlement in 1379 when eighty-one individuals are recorded in the Poll Tax records under the section entitled "Stanibryggate in Rypon".[53]

By that date Ripon had to all intents and purposes taken on the essential core of its modern form. The twelfth century had seen the archbishop of York working to foster and expand Ripon, which he did with a degree of success. The evidence tends to suggest that no major change took place in the structure of the town during this period, although a movement away from the eastern Stonebridgegate-St. Marygate route of access to the Minster did begin. This was evident firstly in 1228, with the suggested location of the archbishop's market place being at the west end of Allhallowgate, and secondly, with that street having evidence of burgage tenures by 1250. These burgages may well represent a twelfth-century creation and may have been those where the burgesses mentioned in the 1197 Pipe Roll, dwelt. The expansion of the twelfth century began the movements towards the emergence of the modern town of Ripon, which reduced the original monastic centre to the east, to the level of a secondary access route to the new centre. In the thirteenth century the process continued with the rapid movement southwards with the creation of the present Market Place and by 1320 of burgages in Westgate and Barefoot Street across the river and also probably in Blossomgate, Skelgate and Kirkgate. By 1350 the process was largely complete. The result of twelfth-century expansion was a thirteenth-century relocation of the centre of the town, consequently altering the geographical structure of Ripon, and giving birth to the modern town.

---

[44] Smith A. H., 1963; *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire,* Vol. 5, p. 116.

[45] Op. Cit.

[46] See in Y.A.J. Vol. 7, 1881, pp. 19-23.

[47] Clay, C. T., (Ed) 1940; p. 97, No. 278.

[48] Clay, C. T., (Ed) 1940, p. 98, No. 279.

[49] Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 195-6.

[50] Fowler, C. T., (Ed) 1940; p. 60. See F.N. 40.

[51] Clay, C. T., (Ed) 1940; p. 98. No. 281.

[52] Fowler, J. T., 1881; p. 147. This particular obiit may provide an insight into the Black Death at Ripon. It is making provision for memorial masses to be said for the victims of a family tragedy, namely for John Frankys the younger, his wife Margaret and for their son William. One wonders whether the Black Death was responsible for this destruction of a family?

[53] Op. Cit.

NEW HALL, DARFIELD

By J. Birch and P. F. Ryder
(with the assistance of S. R. Jones)

Situation

New Hall, Darfield, now known as Cranford Hall, is situated 2.5 km (1½ miles) west-north-west of the parish church of Darfield, at the head of the valley of a small tributary of the River Dove, flowing south from the ridge now followed by the main Barnsley to Doncaster A 635 road (SE 394052).

The underlying strata are a succession of sandstones and shales of the Middle Coal Measures, traversed by a fault which runs directly beneath the buildings (which have suffered some damage from mining subsidence).

Two fishponds occupy the floor of the small valley, separating New Hall Farm on the south from the Hall itself. What appears to be an artificial embankment between the Hall and the ponds appears to have been constructed to make it possible for the Hall moat to hold water. To the north of the Hall the hillside rises steeply, so that the site is overlooked in a manner which one would not expect in the case of a house with some pretensions as to defence.

The present approach to the Hall is from the north-east, by a lane running south from the main road and swinging west as it approaches the house. Earlier routes to the Hall were probably either New Hall Lane running from Arsdley, 1 km (0.6 mile) to the west, or a bridle road (shown as such on the O.S. 6in. : 1 mile map, 1st edition 1854) running up the valley from the south, and linking the Hall to Nether Wood Hall (originally Wood Hall) beside the River Dove.

History

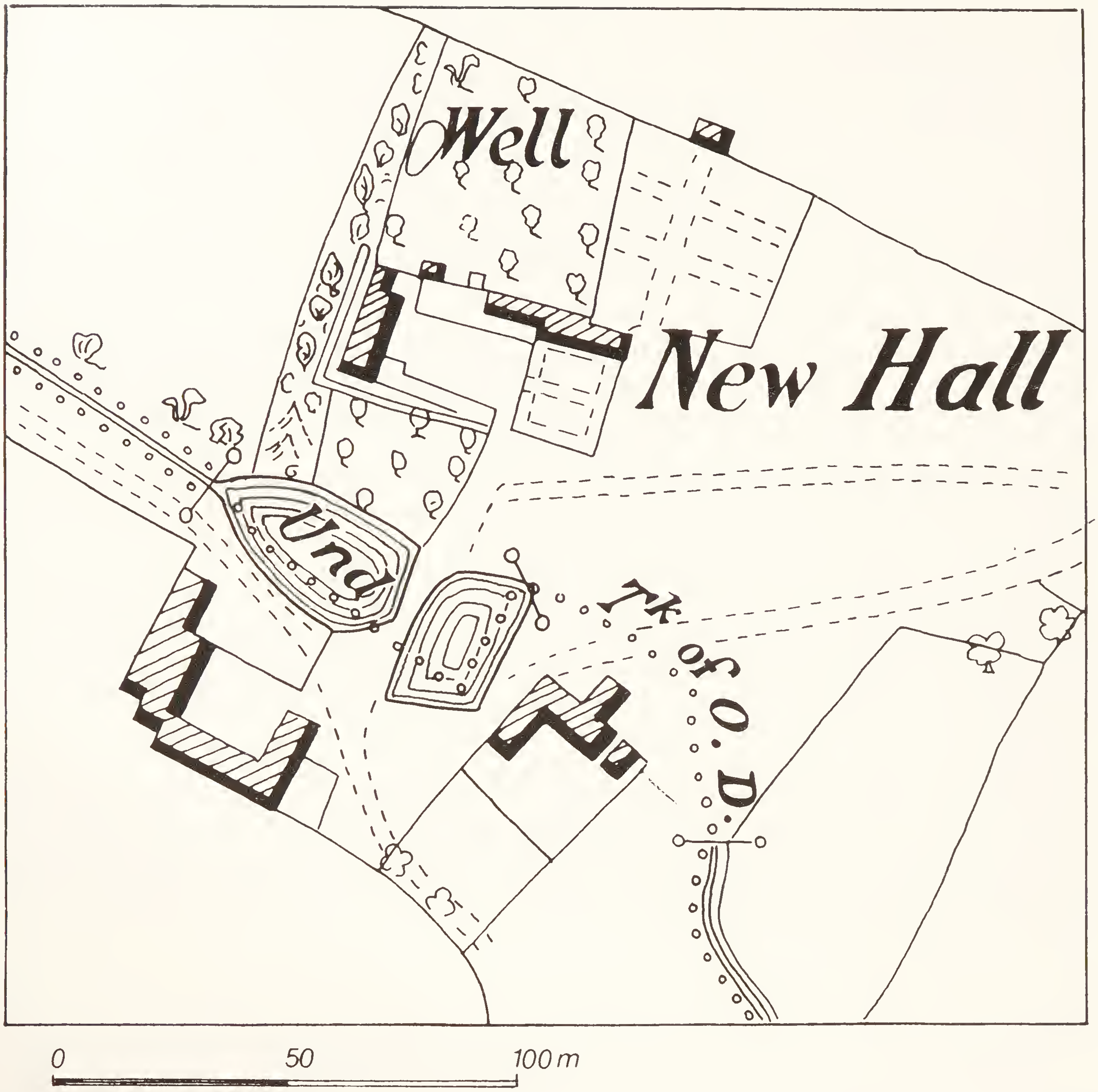
At the time of the Norman Conquest the lands around Darfield and Ardsley were held from the king by Alsi and Chetelber, Alsi continuing to hold at least his portion at the time of the Domesday survey in 1086. The surveyors reported that he personally held in demesne two carucates of land, while five villeins, or unfree peasants, and ten borderers farmed a further three carucates. There was also reported to be a sizeable amount of woodland in the locality, though the value of the manor had fallen considerably.

With the passing of Alsi from the historical record we enter into that all too common era of uncertainty over ownership covering the following century - a period where confusion has been supplemented by the historians. Hunter[1], followed by those who have borrowed too heavily from him[2], originated the disharmony of sources whereby a twelfth-century landowner in the area, Sweyn and his son Adam, benefactors of Fountains Abbey and Monk Bretton Priory, are spoken of directly in the context of New Hall, Arsdley. Sweyn gave 'Neuhala' to Fountains Abbey, a grant presumably not taken up and never heard of again after a Papal Bull of acceptance in 1145. Adam fitz Sweyn similarly and subsequently gave Newhall to endow his new Priory at Monk

---

[1] J. Hunter: *South Yorkshire,* Nichols, London, 1831, Vol. 2, p. 109.

[2] See e.g. J. R. Walbran (ed.): *Memorials of the abbey of St. Mary of Fountains,* Publications of the Surtees Society, Vol. XLII, (1842), p. 57, and A. H. Smith: *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire,* Cambridge University Press, 1961, part 1, p. 95.



NEW HALL from the 1854 O.S. 6": 1 mile map

Bretton[3], a gift which remained with the priory until the dissolution.[4] It is in fact unlikely that either grant has anything to do with New Hall, Ardsley. Rather Newhall or Newhall grange at nearby Brampton would seem to be the object in question.[5] Thus further early documentation on our subject matter is entirely lacking, and with it any indication of the change from the old to the New Hall.

Indeed a continuous line of ownership of the New Hall lands can effectively be traced

---

3. For text see J. W. Walker (ed.): *Abstracts of the Chartularies of the Priory of Monk Bretton,* in Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol. LXVI, 1924, pp. 11-13. See also R. Holmes (ed.): *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract,* Vol. 1, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol. XXV, 1898, pp. 80-82 and 100-102 (where the grant is also recorded by the parent priory) and commentary pp. 94-5. For further discussion of these documents see J. W. Walker: *An historical and architectural description of the Priory of St. Mary Magdalene of Monk Bretton,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds, 1926, p. 3.
4. *Ibid.* p. 39 - 40 and 53 - 6.
5. See A. K. Martin: *A history of the ancient parish of Wath-upon Dearne,* W. E. Farthing, Wath, 1920, p. 17; and J. W. Walker (ed.): *Abstracts . . . (op. cit.),* p. 109.

back only to the time of Hugh de Darfield. Hugh, a contemporary of King John (1199-1216), and lord of New Hall and Ardsley, remains however almost as shadowy a character as his predecessors. As heir he left his only daughter Alice, who, by marrying Sir John Bosvile - recorded as a knight in the mid-1250s during the reign of Henry III - established the link between the Bosviles and New Hall. The Bosviles themselves were already a family of some prominence in South Yorkshire before the acquisition of the New Hall estate[6], with which they were now to be continuously associated for almost 400 years.

Having acquired New Hall, Sir John Bosvile seems to have played an active part in local affairs around his new estate, for his name appears frequently in a variety of documents from the 1240s to the 1260s.[7] He enclosed the wood at Arsdley, employed a forester, and in 1254 received a grant of free warren for all his lands in Yorkshire.

Sir John, who sired some six children, was outlived by his wife Alice whereupon the order of the line of succession to the New Hall property becomes uncertain for the following century.

Darfield in fact had come to be subject to the lordship of Skipton's grant to the family of Fleming, and by the time of the Inquest into debts owed to the Exchequer, carried out by Edward I's treasurer John Kirby in 1284-5, we find that the tenants of Sir William Fleming (d.1307) in the sub-fees in Darfield were William Fitz-Thomas and Peter Bosvile.

Sir John and his widow Alice appear to have been succeeded in the late thirteenth century by their son Peter who inherited both the Hall Steads and the Hall land, along with other lands and the lordship of the waste. He was moreover indicated in some early genealogies as having made a successful alliance by marriage with Beatrix de Furnival, a daughter of the family of the Lords of Hallamshire, who held Sheffield castle at that time.

On several occasions in the late thirteenth century Bosviles acted as witnesses in transactions made by Sir Roger Fitz-Thomas of neighbouring Woodhall, and the two sub-fees of Darfield - New Hall and Woodhall - were brought even closer together by the marriage of Sir John Bosvile's daughter, and hence Peter Bosvile's sister, Matilda, to Sir Roger Fitz-Thomas. The lord of Woodhall was at the same time given the right to take eight oak trees a year from the Bosvile's wood at Ardsley - a right bought back again by Peter Bosvile.

Other parcels of Sir John's and Alice's lands went to another of their sons, Robert Bosvile, who was to die childless and thus without ensuring his succession. These passed in turn to Sir James Bosvile of New Hall, who, also being without issue, gave them in 1329 to his cousin Robert, one of the sons of Peter Bosvile.

It was presumably this Robert who, as 'Robert de Bosevyle of the vill of Neuhalle, which is distant from Whytstan six leagues, of the county of York, of the age of forty years and upwards' participated as a juror in an inquisition at York into proof of the age of Thomas, son and heir of John de Verdon *c.*1295-6.

At the inquisition of William Fleming in 1306/7, the jurors declared the tenants of the former in Darfield to be William Fitz-William, Robert Bosvile and Adam Bosvile, owing seven shillings per year and presenting themselves at the court of Wath upon Dearne. Both Robert and Adam are found as witnesses on a grant of land in the manor of Arsdley dated 28 August, 1318.[8]

Robert, who was to go on to become constable of Pontefract castle in 1333, was at some point the master of New Hall and of the demesne lands in Ardsley, Darfield, Wombwell, Barnsley and Greasborough. By an agreement made actually at New Hall on the Friday after the feast of St. Wilfrid in 1340, this same Robert granted Monk Bretton priory permission to build a fulling mill on the river Dearne in Arsdley, along with its associated dam.[9]

---

[6] See Lady A. E. B. Madconald: *The Fortunes of a Family (Bosvile of New Hall, Gunthwaite and Thorpe) through nine centuries,* T. A. Constable, Edinburgh, 1928; and T. W. Hall (ed.) *Yorkshire - a descriptive catalogue of land-charters and court rolls from the Bosvile and Lindsey collections,* J. W. Northend, Sheffield, 1930.

[7] See Hunter: *op. cit.,* and J. W. Walker (ed.): *Abstracts . . . (op. cit.),* esp. pp. 44-5 and 51-2.

[8] Text in J. W. Walker (ed.): *Abstracts . . . (op. cit.,),* p. 46.

Little else is known of either the hall or the manor during the next few decades, no court rolls having survived, and further information is confined to details of the Bosvile family.

The Arsdley property went in turn from Robert to Thomas, the son and heir of Adam Bosvile, Peter Bosvile's other son, passing thereafter through the generations of Bosviles.

In the mid fourteenth century, it appears from an indenture (dated 1359) that the whole estate at New Hall had been used as security by the Bosviles against loans obtained from Sir William de la Pole, the famed merchant of Hull, Sir Thomas Bailey of Barnsley and Sir Adam Herbyln. The reasons for this cash flow problem are unclear but the debt was apparently discharged.

Thomas Bosvile had to appear at the court of the lordship of Pontefract in 1371 in order to demonstrate why he should not fulfill the obligation of service for the lands he held at Arsdley. He pointed out that Ardsley was held by New Hall, which was held by the manor of Wath, itself in turn held by the castle of Skipton, and thus no part of the Duchy of Lancaster. A smaller portion, 8 bovates, was dependent on the manor of Brierley within the Duke's domain. The remainder of Thomas' lands were said to be held from Sir John Fitz William of Woodhall for a rent of a pair of spurs, Sir John's lands too being held from the Duke.

A decade later, in 1381, the same Thomas was granted free warren in all his demesne lands including Arsdley and Darfield.

A more curious episode was to occur soon after, in 1383, when the manor of New Hall was presented by Thomas Bosvile to Robert Monk and Thomas de Calthorn of Arsdley, together with its rents, services and fulling mill in the townships of Darfield and Wombwell. Whatever the cause of this action, it was returned to the Bosviles in 1388, in the form of Thomas's grandson, also Thomas Bosvile, and his wife Margaret.

One of these Thomases it was who added the three bears heads in chief to the fess fusille which had adorned the arms of his predecessors and which was to appear shortly in the stonework of the house.

If the Bosviles had in fact fallen upon bad times in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, as opposed to making some kind of complicated inheritance arrangement of a type which we will encounter again, their fortunes at least took an upturn with the marriage of John Bosvile of Arsdley to Isabel, the sister and coheir of Sir William Dronsfield of West Bretton, who brought with her considerable possessions. The upturn in fortunes, if such it was, remained visible in the succeeding generation as the lines of ownership of Woodhall and New Hall again became linked when John Bosvile married Mary the daughter of Isabel, inheritor of Woodhall (married before 1392 and still living in 1417) and her husband Thomas de Barley (who pre-deceased his wife). As a result of this marriage with the joint heiress of the Woodhall estates, the Bosviles of New Hall gained considerably, albeit not in the form of neighbouring Woodhall itself. Rather as a result of the settlement which took place in 1425, they acquired the manor of High Melton, shares in the manors of Gresbrook and Little Houghton, plus houses in Burton, Gateford and Selby, land in Wath, and rents from Brampton, Lound and Wath.[10]

The new Mary Bosvile's sister Margaret (a co-inheritor from their mother) had herself married a Drax, thereby bringing Woodhall, her principal share of the inheritance, into the ownership of a new family - one which was subsequently to link the two houses of Woodhall and New Hall through a marriage with the Bosviles over a century later in the reign of Elizabeth I.

---

[9] *Ibid.*, document 174, p. 66.

[10] Hunter: *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

It is however with this John Bosvile's second wife Isabel that perhaps more interest lies, for here we can see the first tangible link with the existing remains of the hall. Isabel was the daughter of Percival Cresacre, lord of Barnborough between Barnsley and Doncaster, and it is the arms of Bosvile and Cresacre which we find on the piers of the gateway commanding the approach to New Hall. The precise date of this alliance is unclear. John Bosvile died on the Friday after the feast of the Assumption 1441, and so the marriage must have taken place before then. Whether the arms on the gateway piers were merely in celebration of this alliance on an existing building, or part of a wholesale reconstruction of the house - a new New Hall - is not recorded in the documentary evidence, though extensive masonry remains do indicate a good deal of building work around this period, and no earlier remains have as yet been identified.

Isabel, after founding a chantry in Cawthorne church to pray for the soul of John Bosvile, was not long in remarrying, this time to Henry Langton, some time before 1448, and, following his death after 1460, she took the veil of chastity from Richard, prior of Monk Bretton, and continued to live until after 1480.

James Cresacre was named in John's will, along with Isabel and (? William) Mirfield, as one of his executors, while Percival Cresacre and Matilda, Countess of Cambridge, were to be supervisors of the operation.

It was not, however, with the issue of this second marriage of John Bosvile that New Hall descended, despite the addition of the Cresacre arms to the house. To this branch went the manor of Gunthwaite.[11]

John Bosvile had in fact conveyed the lands and property of New Hall to a number of trustees before his death, thereby depriving the overlord of his 'fine', due from John's successor on gaining access to the property. One such arrangement was entered into in a charter of 11 February, 1433,[12] where several people were granted trusteeship of New Hall and the associated properties. These trustees so enfeofed were Matilda of York, the widow of Richard Earl of Cambridge, William Scargell, William Mirfield and two of the Cresacres - Percival, John's father-in-law, and James.

Most or all of this first arrangement was apparently revoked by a document dated 6 October, 1435, at the court of Westminster and witnessed by, among others, William Babington (later Sir William, who retired as Lord Chief Justice in 1436), John Martin, John Juyn (?), James Strangways, John Cottesmore and William Paston.[13]

The currently valid trusteeship situation was brought to light at the inquisition on the property which took place at Barnsby before Nichols. Fitz-William, then the escheator, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene 21 Henry VI (1442/3). The trustees were now Richard Wyrde chaplain, Robert Monke, John Chattelworth and John Rose. William Bosvile, then aged 40 and the child of John's first marriage to Mary Barley, was thereupon found to be the heir, and in consequence inherited the wide range of properties now attaching to the Bosviles. The fullest delineation of these properties of John Bosvile is given in the 1435 document, where they are stated to consist of forty houses, 1337 acres of land, 129 acres of meadow, 'half of sixty and ten acres of pasture, a hundred and forty and sixteen acres of wood . . . half of sixty and eleven shillings and eight pence of rent' with the appurtenances in Darfield, Wombwell, Ardsley, Wirksborough, Barnsley, Cawthorne, Gunthwaite, Denby and High Hoyland; half of 26 houses, 59 acres of land,

---

[11] See the document reproduced in Hunter: *op. cit.*, p. 345.

[12] Hall: *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. Witnesses to this document were Robert Mauleverer esq., William Stodfold chaplain, John Staynroyde chaplain, Richard Stanes and John Munke.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

54 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 16 acres of wood, 19 shillings and six pence half-penny of rent, with the appurtenances in West Bretton, Kimberworth, High Hoyland, Ingbirchworth, Frith, Carhouses, Wickersley and Stainton.

In any event, it is clear that with Woodhall and its appurtenances in the bag, the Bosviles were riding high in the mid-fifteenth century; a time of considerable building work on New Hall.

After this period of apparent prosperity and high status, the story of the Hall is less clear, much of the documentation seemingly having been destroyed or lost. In spite of the absence of any female heirs to carry off their wealth into other families, the Bosviles nevertheless seem gradually to have declined in stature, selling off or otherwise parting with their estates one by one. However, various disputes over land in which they became involved with neighbouring landowners did not directly involve New Hall itself. Indeed little or nothing is heard of it until late into the sixteenth century, even the surviving will of Thomas Bosvile of 1540/1[14] telling us nothing of the Hall.

In 1570 this Thomas's son and heir, Gervas, became embroiled in a dispute with Thomas Drax over, among other things, rights of common in New Hall park (albeit now said to be devoid of deer), a piece of land in New Hall park enclosed in Gervas's minority, and monies held by Bosvile which should have accrued to Drax as part of his inheritance from the New Hall estate.

Drax further went on to claim that in spite of all his attempts at establishing friendly relations with Gervas, Bosvile had simply responded with legal suits against him purely out of malice, and that 'He will do right at all, neyther take anye wronge'[15]. If Drax's complaints were soundly based, then Gervas Bosvile did indeed present an unpleasant face to the world.

Thomas Bosvile, Gervas's son and heir apparent to New Hall, is also fleetingly encountered in a complex tripartite indenture of 8 January, 1586.[16] As the last male heir of the oldest branch of the Bosviles, Thomas (born in 1562) was, like many of his ancestors, buried in the parish church in Darfield, his will having been dated 21 March, 1637.

What happened to New Hall at his death is uncertain, save that it eventually came into the hands of the Wortley family. Unfortunately the hearth tax return of the second half of the seventeenth century is lost for the Darfield area, leaving us with little knowledge of the house at that time.

By 1713 the property was held by William Marsden of Barnsley who then sold it back to Godfrey Bosvile of Gunthwaite (born 1654) for £2400. Godfrey was a direct descendant of Richard Bosvile of Gunthwaite (temp. Henry VI). He in turn left it to his nephew Captain William Bosvile.[17]

A rental of Captain Bosvile's estate for Martinmas 1722 gives Joseph Methley as the tenant of New Hall at a rent of £32. 10*s*. and the land tax value as £1 1*s*. 6*d*.[18] William Bosvile's son and his grandson Col. Bosvile, held the estate in turn until 1813 during which time, in the late eighteenth century, the present central hall block was built. In 1813 the new Bosvile line again failed without a direct heir. Instead, the New Hall passed to a nephew, Lord Macdonald, who in turn sold it, together with its appendages, shortly before Hunter's work appeared in 1832. By then the estate was but a shadow of its former self, with the hall, its demesne lands and rents from Darfield, Wombwell, Hill, Ederthorpe, Milnehouse and Middlewood. There was no enclosure award at this time

---

14. Dated 1 October, 1540 and proved 19 July, 1541 - see text in York Registry of Wills: *Reg. Test.*, xi, 550, cited in J. W. Clay (ed.): *Testamenta Eboracensia - a selection of wills from the Registry at York,* VI, Publications of the Surtees Society, CVI (1902), p. 113-15.
15. Hunter: *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4.
16. Bosvile deeds, in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* Vol. 13, 1895, p. 224.
17. Hunter: *op. cit.*, p. 114.
18. Macdonald: *op. cit.*, p. 242.

affecting the Hall.

The new owner after Lord Macdonald was a Mr. Townend of Ederthorpe, from whom it passed to his nephew, Joseph Machin, the occupant in the 1830s. Machin (who was born in Monk Bretton in the first half of the 1780s), and his wife Mary Ann (who came form Beal), described themselves as freehold farmers of some 130 acres in the 1851 census.[19] They kept a staff of six employees resident at the hall throughout the 1840s and early 1850s, consisting of three female domestic servants and three farm labourers, mostly recruited from the locality and usually in their teens or early twenties. The 1841[20] and 1851[21] censuses show a complete change of this unmarried staff. In addition, one Elizabeth Hawksworth, apparently a relation, also lived in and acted as housekeeper.

Joseph Machin senior died before 1861, for in that year his wife as listed as the head of a somewhat truncated household - presumably reduced to meet the exigences of the time.[22] Elizabeth Hawksworth stayed on, along with just one 16-year. old general servant. Although their daughter Hannah (then aged 14 and at school) was also resident, Joseph Machin, the 19-year old son and heir (born 1842, at New Hall like his sister) was presumably living away from home at the time of the census and went unmentioned.

By 1871 the now 29-year old Joseph had assumed responsibility as head of the household, describing himself as a landed proprietor.[23] Both he and his 24 year old sister were still unmarried and had living with them their mother, an aunt and the long resident Elizabeth Hawkesworth, now aged 76. The domestic staff had now risen back to full strength and included a farm bailiff, George Gill, a farm labourer, a cook, a housemaid and a general domestic servant. Later the hall came into the hands of the Taylor family of mill owners from Barnsley, who had held nearby Middlewood Hall since the middle of the nineteenth century. From them it came to be rented by a Col. Brass, in whose period of tenure the cross wings and the lean-to back were added to the house at the turn of the present century. Brass's son took over the tenure of the house from his father, though the Hall actually continued to be conveyed among the Taylors. Thus, Francis Walter Taylor, who died on 10 June 1900, left it in his will to Douglas Lionel Taylor, who came into ownership on attaining 21 in November, 1915.[24] Having settled in St. James's, London, he sold it to Charles Howard Taylor of Middlewood Hall on 29 October, 1921.[25] The latter died in 1925, and an assent of 1928 vested the Hall in the hands of Gertrude Mary Taylor.

For a while the house was apparently empty until, on 23 December, 1936, it was purchased from Gertrude Taylor by Wood Bros. Glass Company Ltd., and rented through the firm by Alphonse Wood. On 14 May, 1946, it was bought directly by Ida Mai Wood for the sum of £2,500, and remains with that family to the present day, the name having been changed from New Hall to Cranford Hall to avoid confusion with the neighbouring but separate farm.

Description

New Hall appears to have consisted of a walled enclosure forming an irregular quadrilateral in plan. The line of the east side is somewhat conjectural - if the modern garden wall and adjacent ditch here represent the original eincente and moat, the enclosure would be c.53 m long from west to east, broadening from 25 m at the west end to c.33 m at the east.

---

[19] 1851 Census Enumerator's Handbook, Public Record Office Reference HO 107 2333, Barnsley Registry District, Darfield District, p. 28.

[20] 1841 Census Enumerator's Handbook, Public Record Office Reference HO 107 1326, Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake, Darfield township, p. 14,

[21] *Op. cit.*

[22] 1861 Census Enumerator's Handbook, Public Record Office Reference RG 9 3450, Darfield township, p. 10.

[23] 1871 Census Enumerator's Handbook, Public Record Office Reference RG 10 4649, Darfield township.

[24] Abstract of Title, by courtesy of E. Rideal, Barnsley.

[25] Indenture: Conveyance of New Hall, Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, Vol. 85, p. 987, No. 377.

The present house occupies the north-east section of the enclosure, and is mostly of late 19th and early 20th century date. Of the smaller house shown in outline plan on the 1854 O.S. map, only part of the north wall survives - following the same alignment as the medieval perimeter wall further west but showing no features earlier in date than the eighteenth century.

Of the medieval buildings there survives the lower part of the southern perimeter wall with its central gateway, the west wall and adjacent range of buildings, and the western half of the north wall. Previous researchers do not seem to have appreciated the extent of medieval structures surviving on site. Hunter in 1831 states "some portions of the old house still remain. There is a gateway having the arms of Bosvile and Cresacre. A square site moated round is now a flower garden". Pevsner writing more recently dismisses the remains as an "odd fragment of the Middle Ages", mentioning the gateway arch and misinterpreting the hall fireplace as "a Tudor fireplace now exposed, and above it, built in, a round-headed arch of the late C12".

The Moat

The only unfilled section of the moat is the narrow ditch (now dry) on the eastern half of the south front and the southern half of the east front, its inner face formed by the garden wall (which on the south is the medieval perimeter wall). The moat on the west, and the western halves of the north and south sides, has been filled in and remains visible only as a slight depression. The 1854 O.S. map appears to show water-filled moat remaining on the west, and the west part of the south side of the enclosure. Unlike the present ditch around the south-west corner, this moat appears to have been set c.4 m in front of the perimeter wall. A single pond shown adjacent to the wall on the north was probably a remnant of the moat on that side, here set directly against the wall, as the excavated section suggests.

The cutting of this section, across the north moat 8 m. east of the north-west corner, showed that the original channel was relatively narrow. Its actual width was not easy to determine (the level of the original water surface not being apparent) but cannot have been much more than 2 m. A spring and small pond a short distance up the hillside from the same corner of the moat obviously acted as a feeder, and, along with the embankment forming the outer lip of the southern ditch, indicate that the moat was intended to be water-filled. Infilling with clay and domestic rubbish seems to have taken place in the mid-nineteenth century, to judge from the pottery found.

The Perimeter Wall

Only the lower courses of the medieval perimeter wall remain on the south, forming the inner revetment of the moat. The upper section of the wall (the only part visible internally, since the present ground level on the north is considerably higher than that on the south) is a modern rebuilding. To the west of the original gateway a modern drive has been cut through the wall, the footings of which show through the metalling.

The lower section of the wall to the east of the gate shows two chamfered plinths on its outer face, where the moat has not been infilled. West of the gate only the upper plinth is exposed, being carried round the base of a buttress 8 m. from the west end of the wall. There are now buildings on the side of the courtyard, but the 1854 map shows what may have been the inner wall of a former range here, perhaps then standing as a ruin.

The perimeter wall on the west side, and the surviving sections on the north, have formed the outer walls of ranges of buildings, with which they are considered.

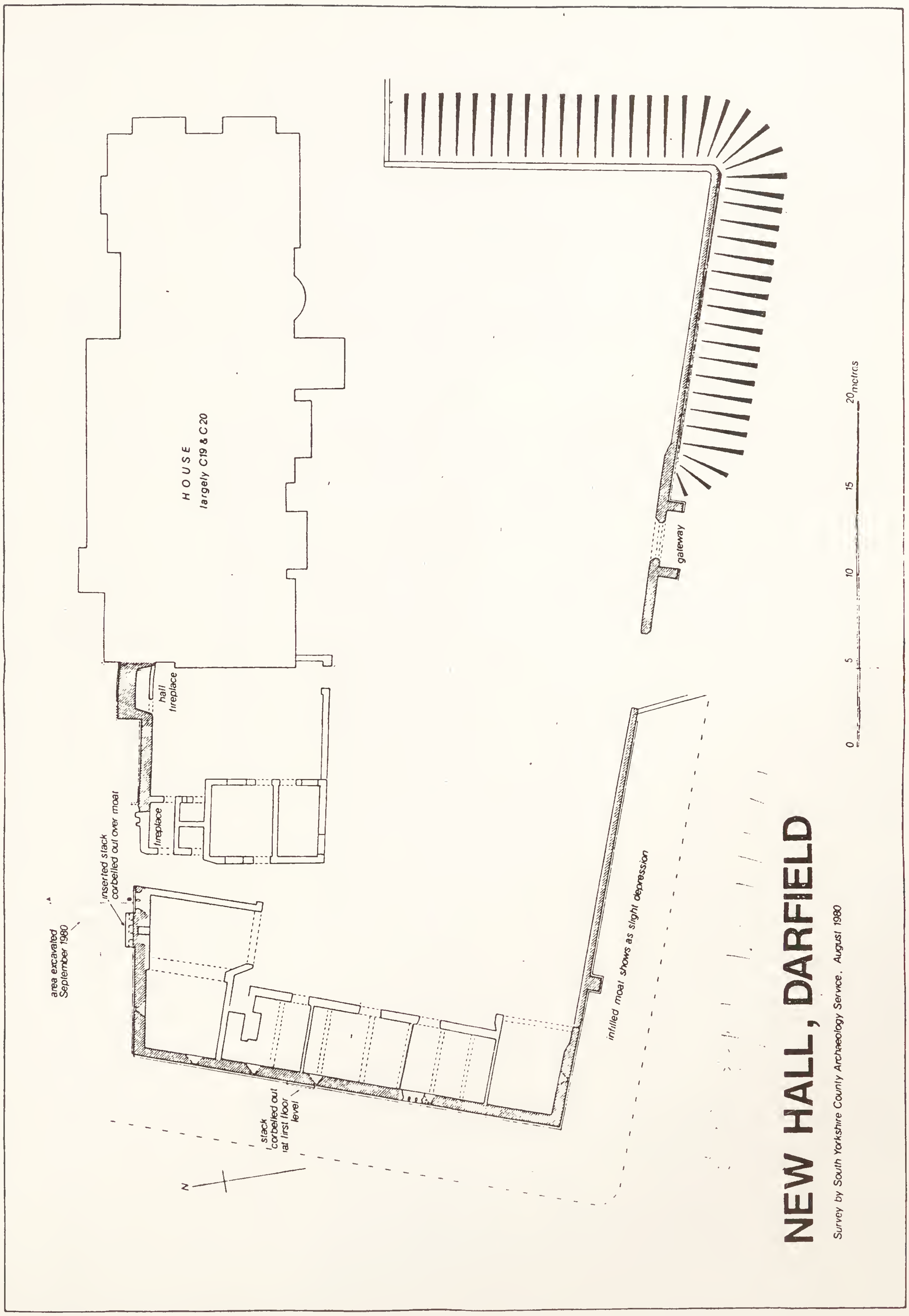

NEW HALL, DARFIELD
Survey by South Yorkshire County Archaeology Service, August 1980
HOUSE
largely C19 & C20
hall fireplace
fireplace
inserted stack corbelled out over moat
area excavated September 1980
stack corbelled out at first floor level
infilled moat shows as slight depression
gateway
N
0
5
10
15
20 metres

Fig. 2

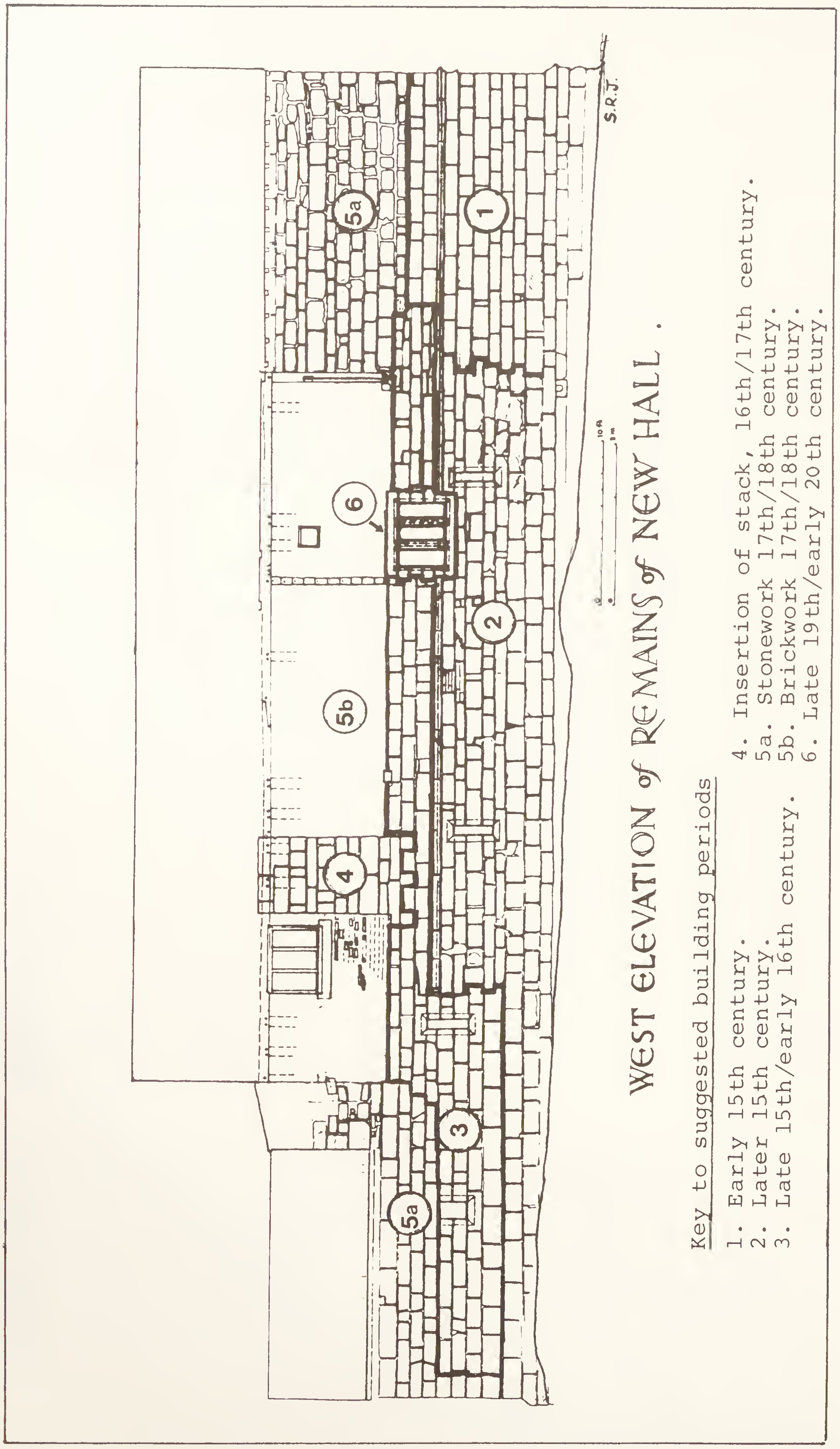

WEST ELEVATION of REMAINS of NEW HALL.
Key to suggested building periods
1. Early 15th century.
2. Later 15th century.
3. Late 15th/early 16th century.
4. Insertion of stack, 16th/17th century.
5a. Stonework 17th/18th century.
5b. Brickwork 17th/18th century.
6. Late 19th/early 20th century.
1
2
3
4
5a
5a
5b
6
10 ft
3 m
S.R.J.

Fig. 3

The Gateway

The gateway arch is of slightly depressed four-centred form, 2.16 m wide, rebated internally and with a simple continuous chamfer of jambs and head externally. The chamfered hood above the external arch is of almost semi-circular form.

Externally, the arch is flanked by bold projecting buttresses, which bear coats of arms on their southern faces *c*.3 m above present ground level, the western being Cresacre (three lions rampant) and the eastern Bosvile (five fusils in fesse gules). Above the coats of arms the buttresses end abruptly in flat tops, somewhat inappropriately capped by pedestals surmounted by balls. These finials, and the triangular-section coping which runs over the gate itself, are obviously the product of a later (eighteenth century?) remodelling. How far this work extended is not clear - the arch may have been taken down and rebuilt. The buttresses have the upper chamfered plinth carried round them, suggesting that their lower parts at least are medieval work in situ.

The Hall Block

The hall block of the medieval house occupied the centre of the north side of the courtyard, a site now partly covered by the west end of the modern house. All that survives of the medieval building here is the hall fireplace and its massive stack, projecting beyond the northern perimeter wall, and remains of the western section of that wall.

The dimensions of the hall itself cannot now be ascertained without excavation. The inner face of the perimeter wall to the west of the fireplace appears to have been rebuilt, using old material, and now shows no evidence for the return of the west wall of the hall (the absence of evidence for this could however argue for timber partition walls within the range).

The hall fireplace is 3 m wide, and now partly walled up. The heavy horizontal lintel has been partly cut away at two different periods, firstly when the fireplace was reduced to slightly more than half its original width, but somewhat increased in height, and secondly to accomodate the head of the present door into the small chamber contrived within the old stack. In the centre of the original lintel are the remains of a rectangular raised panel, which may have originally carried an achievement or a genealogy, painted on.

The fireplace jambs have a moulding of two rolls, and the lintel may have been treated in similar manner. Above is a relieving arch of depressed triangular form, and above this again a semi-circular arched hoodmould with a deep hollow chamfer (a 'casement moulding'), the feature that Pevsner terms a "late 12th century arch". The hoodmould stops have been in the form of jousting shields, any sculptured bearings having long since been obliterated by weathering. Above the summit of the arch is a projecting corbel bearing a virtually effaced carving in relief (a shield with scalloped sides?), which may have served to carry a tie-beam or wall-post of the roof structure.

Behind the fireplace the stack, 3.26 m across, projects 1.3 m beyond the line of the perimeter wall, although the continuation of the upper chamfered plinth round the stack shows that the two are contemporary. The width of the stack is reduced by two chamfered set backs as it rises to the largely modern cap.

To the west of the fireplace, as mentioned above, a discontinuity between the fireplace jamb and the coursing of the inner face of the wall suggests that the inner face of the wall here has been rebuilt at some time. Some 5.45 m west of the hall fireplace, in a section of the wall now forming the north end of a Victorian outbuilding, are the remains of a second smaller fireplace. All but its east jamb and part of its head is obscured by rendering. The arch appears to have been segmental and its width c.2 m. Externally, the stack has been cut away, having been walled up at some time and a smaller flue inserted in its blocking - this remains visible 'in section'. The upper chamfered plinth does appear to have been carried round this stack, suggesting that it was part of the original build.

To the west of this removed stack a modern opening has been made through the perimeter wall, to give access to the garden and ground at the rear of the house. From this gap to the north-west angle the lower part of the medieval wall survives intact, although its inner face is completely masked and plastered over within the present garage. Externally, immediately west of the modern gate is a two-light window, now blocked up and lacking its mullion and iron stanchions. The lights have simple square heads, with a fairly broad chamfer all round, being similar in dimensions and form to the single-light windows in the west range.

Adjacent to this window is a projecting stack-like feature carried on three heavy corbels springing from the face of the wall 0.6 m below the upper plinth, which the stack interrupts. The lower part of the face of the wall was examined when the moat was sectioned in September 1980. 0.55 m below the three corbels the lower chamfered plinth was exposed, and 0.3 m below this a further chamfered plinth, rather smaller than those above, was noted resting directly on irregular foundation courses.

The stack itself is 1.96 m wide and projects 0.53 m from the external face of the wall, increasing slightly in width by chamfered off sets just above upper plinth level, and in depth by two chamfered courses immediately above the three corbels. Upwards, the stack reduces in width by means of a sloping set back on each side, just below the modern cap of slabs, 2.1 m above upper plinth level. Above the summit of the stack the wall is plainly a 19th Century rebuild.

This stack, or stack-like feature, poses a number of problems. Its corbelled-out base, and the manner in which it interrupts the upper plinth, suggest that it is an insertion, made after the construction of the moat would have made it difficult to build a stack from ground level. The corbelled base at first suggested that the feature was a garderobe projection, but no trace of any opening for a shaft could be found. In the internal face of the wall, inside the garage, a narrow but deep cupboard occupies part of what is presumed to be a former fireplace recess.

West of the stack, and midway between it and the north-west corner of the wall, is a blocked single-light window consisting of a rectangular loop with chamfered surround, similar to those in the west range. Whether an east-west range including the hall extended into this corner, or whether this section of wall is in fact the base of the former north gable of the west range, is not clear.

The West Range

This is the most substantial section of medieval building surviving at New Hall. What remains is a block of building 18.7 m by 4.8 m externally, originally extending further to the north, which in its late medieval phase appears to have been of stone to first floor level (at any rate on the west) and timber-framed above. The stone west wall survives, along with the lower part of the south gable, and at first floor level the principal posts and wall-plate on the west, along with much of the roof structure. The lower part of the perimeter wall continues beyond the present north end of the range to the north-west angle. The east wall of the range is entirely a 19th century rebuild, as is the present north gable.

The lower part of the west wall presents a number of features that pose problems in interpreting the several builds of masonry present. The better ashlar is seen in the first 5 m of wall northwards from the south-west corner, after which there is a ragged join with work of a rather inferior quality. A moulded string-course 1.8 m above the plinth and common to both sections ends at another break in masonry type 7.4 m short of the north-west corner. Beneath the string-course are two blocked rectangular loops. Just beyond the string-course termination, and set higher in the wall, is a third loop, and 3.5 m short

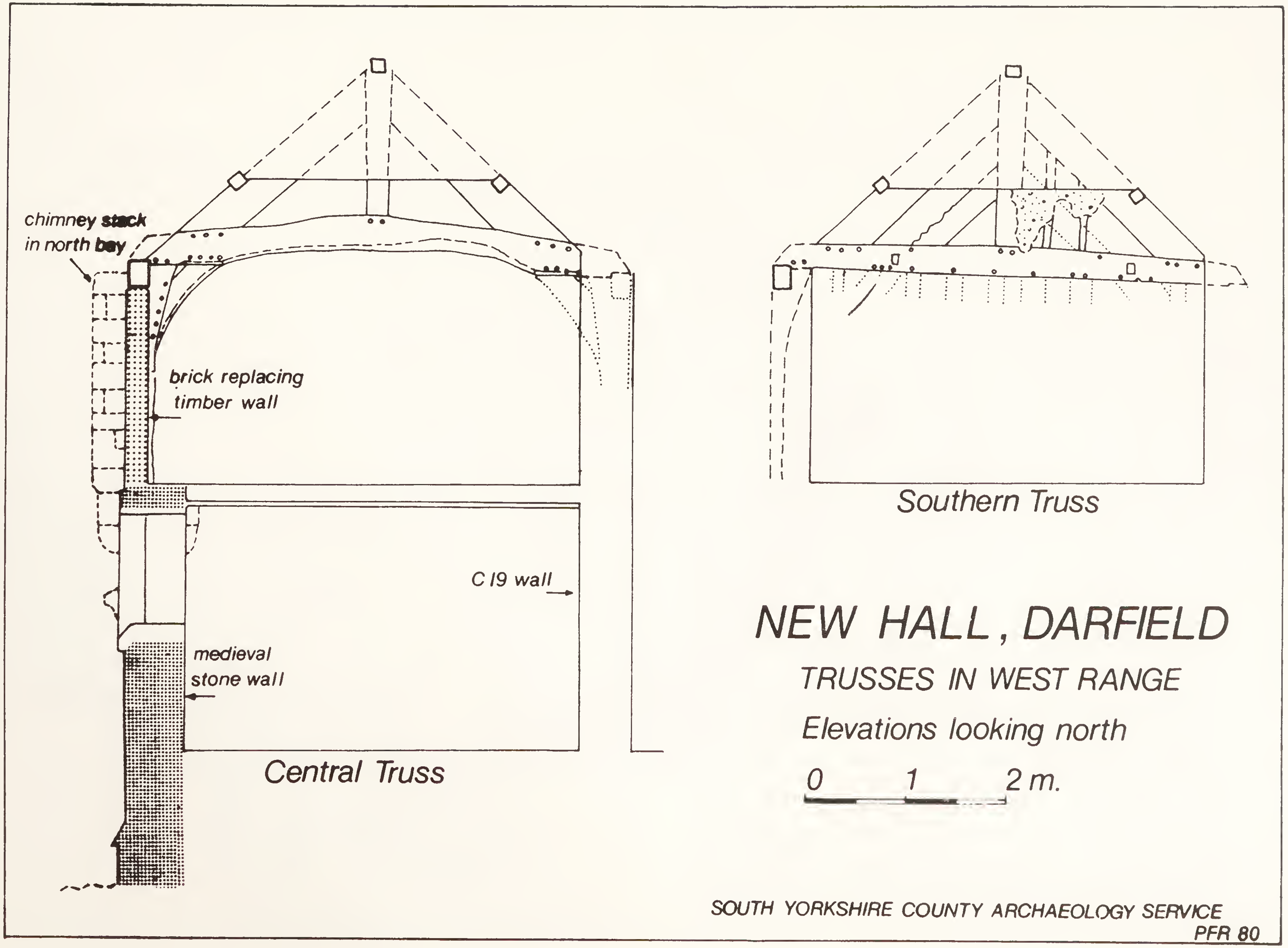

chimney stack
in north bay
brick replacing
timber wall
C 19 wall
medieval
stone wall
Central Truss
Southern Truss
NEW HALL, DARFIELD
TRUSSES IN WEST RANGE
Elevations looking north
0
1
2 m.
SOUTH YORKSHIRE COUNTY ARCHAEOLOGY SERVICE
PFR 80

Fig. 4

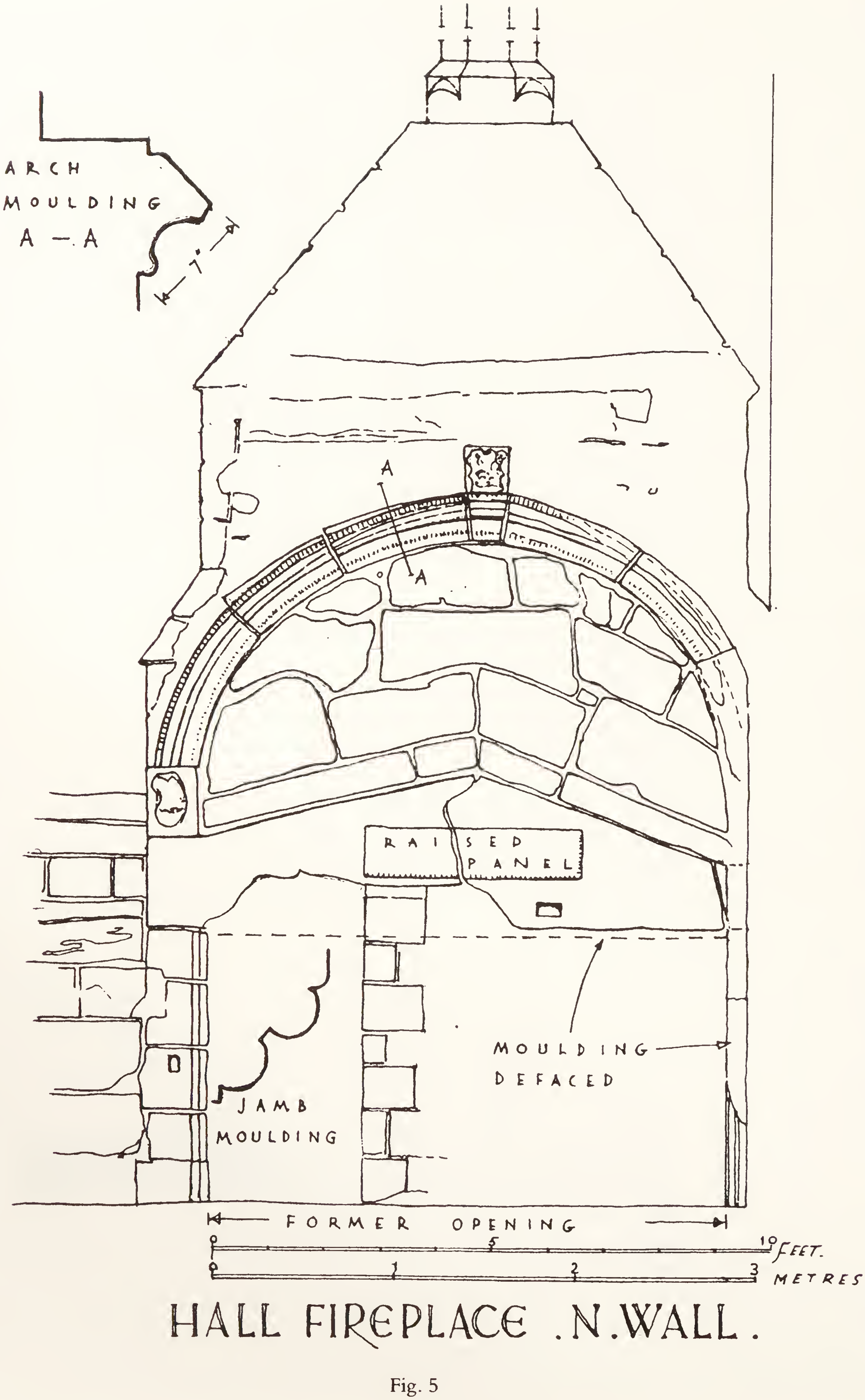

ARCH
MOULDING
A — A
7"
A
A
RAISED PANEL
JAMB MOULDING
MOULDING DEFACED
FORMER OPENING
0 5 10 FEET
0 1 2 3 METRES
HALL FIREPLACE .N.WALL.

Fig. 5

of the end of the wall is a fourth opening, rather wider and now lacking its head. The string is interrupted just north of the southernmost loop by a three-light window which is plainly a modern insertion.

The upper part of the south gable of the wing has been rebuilt in stone at the same time as the upper section of the southern part of the west wall. The base of this rebuilding in the gable is marked by the string-course, the stones of which have been removed from the wall and re-set upside down, one course below their original position. The string thus transposed truncates the head of another rectangular loop window, set centrally in the gable. At the apex of the rebuilt upper part of the gable is a corbel carved as a human head, doubtless a re-set earlier piece.

Above the string-course in the west wall is another 0.8 m of walling, which originally carried the sill-beam at the foot of the framing of the upper wall. From the south-west corner the first 5.6 m of wall has been rebuilt in stone to eaves height, but north of this the principal posts and wall-plate of the framed wall survive, the wall itself being of brick, partly rendered over. This framed section is of three bays, with a scarf joint in the Plate midway along the central bay. Only the southern post is exposed externally - a mortice in its west (external) face, with an infill groove beneath, might either suggest that this is a re-used member, or that a timber projection was located here.

Pegholes exposed on the external face of the wall-plate allow the original wall-framing to be reconstructed to some extent. Fairly close set vertical stud mortices are interrupted by a wide central gap in each bay, perhaps indicating a window position (in the northernmost bay there is a modern window here). 0.5 m south of the truss dividing the central and southern bays is a seating on the wall-plate for what appears to have been a second tie-beam, perhaps connected with a former canopy or fire hood.

The three framed bays have formed a single first-floor apartment, spanned by two trusses with cambered tie-beams having short curved braces to the posts. The roof is of the conventional king-post type with a square-set ridge and a single purlin on each roof slope. The south end of the apartment is marked by what appears to have been a closed truss, having a straight tie-beam with mortices in its soffit for close studding, and diagonal struts above the tie paralleling the principal rafters. The southern bay of the apartment is somewhat shorter (3.8 m) than the central and northern bays (each 4.5 m, assuming and modern north gable occupies a truss position). South of the closed truss a thick stone wall divides off the south end of the range at first floor level as a dovecote, a post-medieval alteration. Alongside the south face of the division wall, and presumably pre-dating it, is a crude principal rafter truss which may be of seventeenth-century date.

The brick infill on the west side of the three framed bays may also be of late seventeenth century or early eighteenth-century date. On the west side of the north bay is an inserted chimney stack at first floor level, its base supported both internally and externally by three corbels. The fireplace has been cut away, the resultant recess now forming a cupboard. The insertion of this stack clearly post-dates the timber framing, mortices for which survive in the wall-plate soffit at this point.

All the other features of the wing are of post-medieval date, most dating from the nineteenth-century remodelling, which left the east side of the building showing no vestige of antiquity. The ground floor ceiling beams are of a variety of scantlings, and probably include some re-used pieces. The floor levels in the wing pose a problem, where that of the present first floor appears to relate closely to the timber-framing, as marked by the now removed sill-beam in the west wall. The string-course 0.6 m below the sill position might indicate a previous floor postion. The two southern loops, below the string, are set too low in the wall to relate to the present ground floor level, whilst the two loops further north are set high enough to conform with present levels.

Building History

The relatively fragmentary nature of the remains of the medieval New Hall make both original plan and building history difficult to reconstruct in any detail. The medieval house seems to have been arranged around a rectangular courtyard, with its gateway set rather east of centre in the south front, perhaps to align with the main entrance to the domestic buildings on the north. The moat and perimeter wall suggest some pretensions as to defence. As pointed out in the consideration of the history of the site, the heraldry of the gateway would suggest a construction date in the first half of the fifteenth-century - there are no surviving features which would obviously pre-date this.

The various builds of masonry in the west wall would suggest a fairly complex building and rebuilding programme before the end of the medieval period. What appears to be the earliest masonry, that of the first 5 m of walling from the south-west corner, might conceivably represent the base of an angle tower. The lower part of the wall of the central section of the range is a second phase, although the continuation of the string-course suggests that it is little later in date. The manner in which this string terminates, and the different level of the windows at the north end of the wall, strongly suggest a phase III rebuilding here. This may be coeval with the timber-framing above the phase II walling (whether this replaces an earlier stone wall is difficult to say). The position of the string-course and the three courses of walling between it and the sill-beam would be difficult to explain if the lower section of wall and the framing were contemperaneous, added to which there is the problem of floor levels here, discussed in the description of the wing.

The three phases postulated must all fall in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The details of the phase III framing are of a relatively "early" type (e.g. the short curved braces of the open trusses look more like work of the fifteenth century rather than the sixteenth). The construction of the first floor stack, replacing a section of the framed wall, is difficult to date. The replacement of the timber wall by brickwork, taken with the stone rebuilding of the first floor walls at the south end of the wing, must fall in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, prior to the complete replacement of the east wall in the nineteenth century.

The suggestion that the original layout included angle towers is to some extent borne out by the fact that the three timber-framed bays at first floor level are placed centrally in the west elevation, as if they had been fitted in between two pre-existing structures of almost identical width (from the north-west corner to the framed section is 5.8 m, from the south-west corner 5.55 m). The central position of the wall-plated scarf in the framed section would argue that the framing did not extend beyond these three bays. Quadrangular palace castles with corner towers, of late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century date occur at Castle Bolton and Sheriff Hutton in North Yorkshire, and Wressle (Humberside), and it is possible that New Hall has been a variant on this form, rather lower down the social scale.

The surviving fragments of the north range point to a hall - the existing fireplace can hardly have served an apartment of lesser status - with further heated chambers at its west end (on the strength of the two further projecting stacks here). These might represent the solar and other private apartments. The kitchens might be expected to the east, i.e. downwind, of the hall - neither of the two stacks in the west section of the wall would do justice to a medieval kitchen. Although the upper plinth is continued round the massive stack of the hall fireplace, suggesting that this is contemporary with this section of perimeter wall, the type of jousting shield depicted on the fireplace's label stops is a sixteenth-century form, perhaps evidencing that the fireplace is really an insertion (if the perimeter wall is correctly dated to the earlier fifteenth-century on the basis of the heraldry of the gateway).

The east side of the courtyard and any buildings there have been completely erased, even the original line of the perimeter wall here being in doubt.

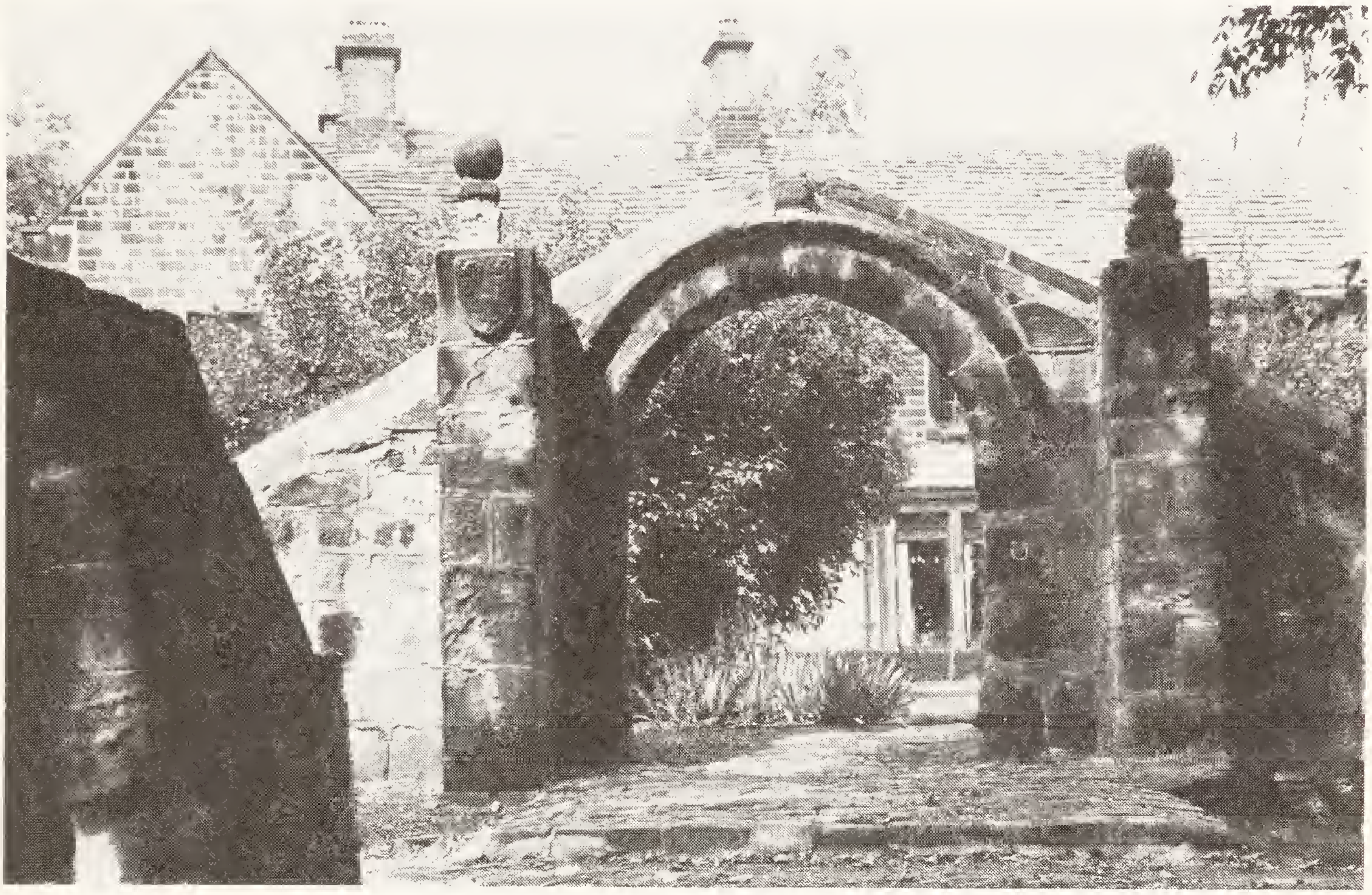


Plate 1
New Hall, Darfield, Gateway from S, 25.7.80

Plate 2
New Hall, Darfield, W range from NW, 9.7.80

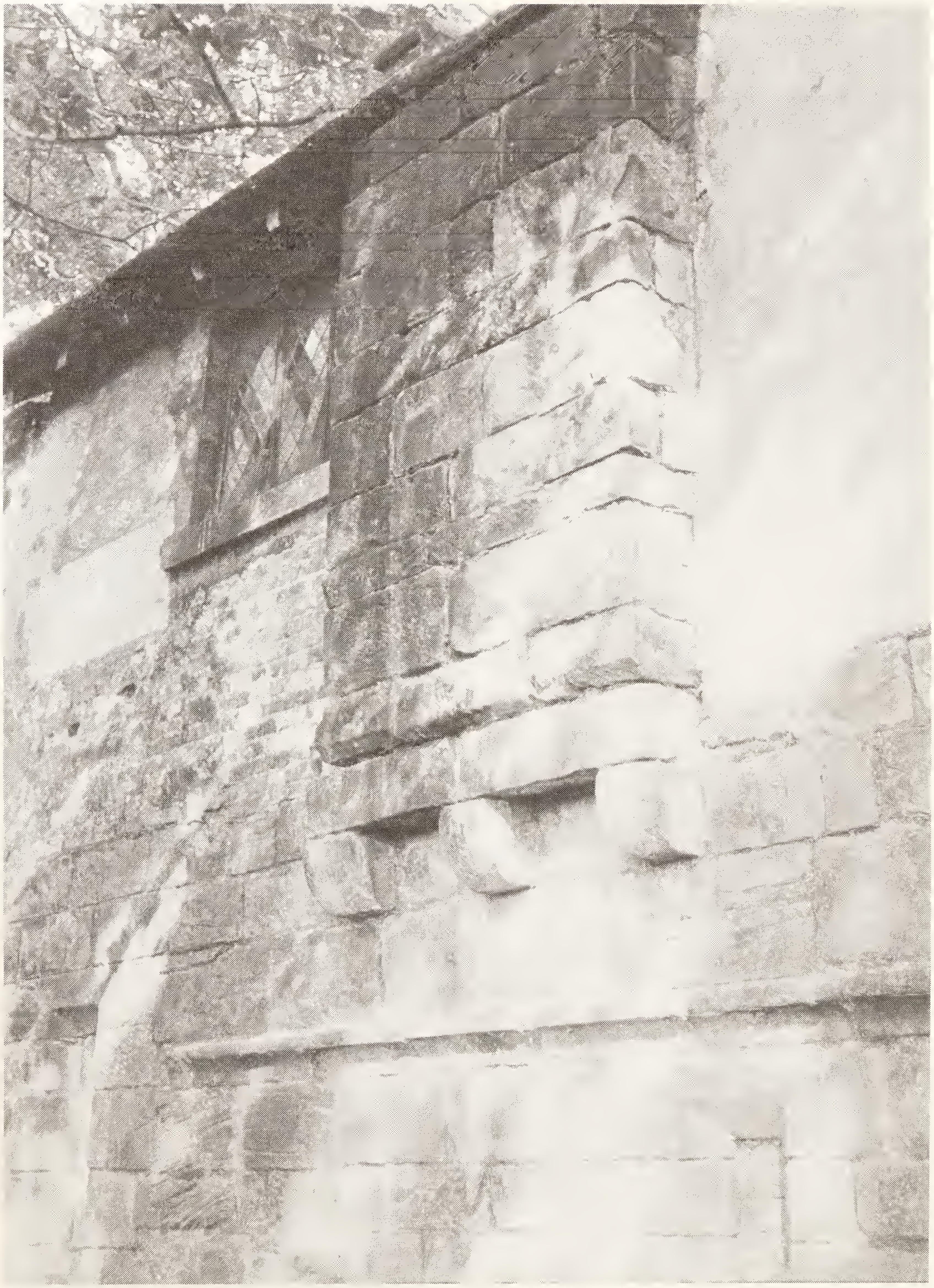


Plate 3

Chimney in W range

HENRY JOHNSTON AND THE MISSING LADY OF GAWTHORPE HALL

By Pauline E. Sheppard Routh

On September 29th 1669, when Henry Johnston, born at Methley, West Riding, and later to become a Benedictine monk, visited Harewood church on behalf of his brother, the antiquary, Dr. Nathaniel Johnston of Pontefract, he gained access also to Gawthorpe Hall, erstwhile seat of the Gascoigne family, and to its private chapel. Here he sketched with his usual facility, an effigy of which no other record seems to exist.[1]

Gawthorpe passed by marriage out of Gascoigne hands in the sixteenth century, and after several changes of ownership, came into that of the Lascelles family, who built the present Harewood House and demolished the old Hall which lay a few hundred yards to the south east. It was presumably at this time that the effigy either disappeared or was destroyed, and this is all the more regrettable because judging by Johnston's sketch, it was a fine one; that of a woman, in an excellent state of preservation, and portraying costume of a richness not represented amongst the six ladies in Harewood church adjacent, three of whom wear the 'houppelande' style of gown, and three, the veiling and barbe of widowhood.

There can be little doubt that the lost lady was carved in alabaster. There was obviously much intricate detail upon it, and it is not surprising that it had survived so well, in view of the protection afforded by its situation in the family chapel, though by Johnston's day it would seem that it had lost its original tomb-chest. He shews it as on a plain raised slab, and one moreover which seems designed to accommodate more than the single figure upon it. Whether this was careless drawing on Johnston's part, or indicated that there had been a companion effigy at some time, it is unlikely that we shall ever know.

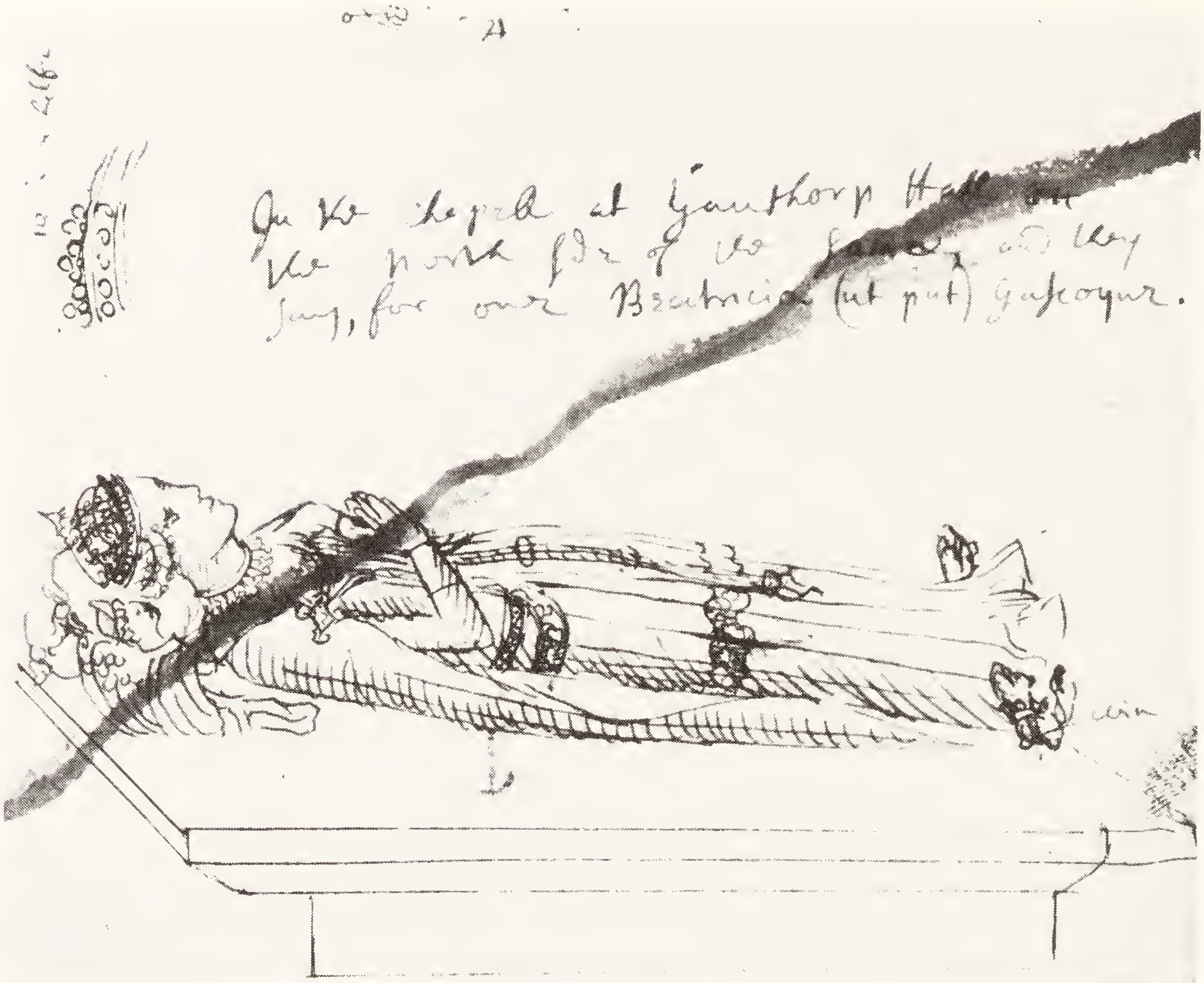
The lady's head rests on two cushions with a coroneted angel on either side. Her face appears to have suffered no damage at all - at least Johnston depicts none. On her head she wears a neat round headdress, reticulated and presumably jewelled on the crown, and her hair is taken up into semi-circular cups or cauls attached on either side. Round the headdress is a studded circlet or coronet with trefoil cresting, a detail of which Johnston draws separately, with the somewhat enigmatic caption '10 ? an halfe'. This may be a reference to the number of trefoils adorning the circlet. Encircling the base of the effigy's throat is a broad flat necklace of pendent jewels, and there are the customary ornate square brooches and long tasselled cords fastening the mantle, which covers the shoulders but falls back to shew the gown beneath. This is a sideless surcoat, which has broad bands of decoration round the skirt at knee level and bordering the side vents. Underneath, is worn the kirtle with tight, long cuffed sleeves and an ornate hip girdle. The feet are hidden under the drapery of the skirt, and a small dog on either side extends its head towards the head of the lady.

The legend above the sketch in Johnston's handwriting, is mercifully legible:

> In the chapell at Gauthorp Hall on the north side of the sanctuary, and they say, for one Beatricia (ut put) [utpote?] Gascoyne.

---

[1] Bodleian Library, Oxford. Top. Yorks. C13. fo. 343.


In the chapell at Gawthorp Hall on
the north side of the same, and they
say, for one Beatricia (ut put) Gascoyne.

There is a wide dating tolerance - more indeed than a hundred years - for the costume style of the effigy, but the headdress seems to place it in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. There are three close parallels extant; Margaret Stafford and Joan Beaufort, the wives of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland, on the magnificent alabaster monument in Staindrop church, Co. Durham, (the Earl died 1425); and Elizabeth FitzAlan, widow of William de Montacute, Thomas Mowbray, first Duke of Norfolk, and Sir Gerard Ufflete, portrayed in mutilated alabaster alongside her fourth husband, Sir Robert Goushill (who died in 1403) in Hoveringham church, Nottinghamshire. Three more approximate parallels are the high-collared 'houppelande' ladies at Over Peover, Cheshire, and Northleigh, Oxfordshire (alabaster, c. 1410), and Much Marcle, Herefordshire (stone, late fourteenth century). Very similar headdress are also shewn on brasses at Southfleet, Kent (c. 1420), Rougham, Suffolk and Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire (both c. 1405).

Thus fitted into an approximate date slot, it only remains to establish the identity of a Beatrix Gascoigne at that time, and this proves comparatively straightforward.

William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Nicholas Frank of Alwoodley, numbered amongst their sons not only Lord Chief Justice William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, and Nicholas Gascoigne, progenitor of the Lasingcroft line, but also Richard Gascoigne, known as 'of Hunslet', whose wife was Beatrix, daughter and co-heir of Henry Ellis Esquire. Richard Gascoigne died in 1422/3, asking in his will that he be buried in the chancel of the parish church of Leeds.[2] Beatrix his widow, was one of his executors, and had control of his estate for her lifetime in the interest of their son Thomas, being given particular directions in providing for his education at Oxford or London. In the event, Thomas studied at Oxford, and years later became its Chancellor, dying in 1457.[3] His two sisters Elizabeth and Alice, were married to Sir John Everingham and Sir Thomas Nevile of Liversedge respectively.

---

[2] Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York. Reg. 18. 384r.

Beatrix presumably fulfilled her husband's wishes regarding the disposition of his mortal remains, but it is strange that neither Glover in 1584/5,[4] nor Dodsworth in 1619,[5] saw any inscription or any heraldic glass relating to Richard Gascoigne, according to their prolific notes on Leeds parish church. In the absence of other documentation, we cannot establish that there was ever an effigy made of Richard, as there was of his brother, the Judge, but it seems that there might have been one of his wife, which survived in the chapel at Gawthorpe in 1669. Why it should be there is as much a mystery as why it was not, as one would expect, at Leeds. It would have been less surprising perhaps, had it been in Harewood church, along with that of her eminent brother-in-law, as Matthew Hutton in 1659,[6] Johnston in 1669,[7] and Torre in 1691/2,[8] all note the arms of Gascoigne of Hunslet[9] in glass in Harewood church. Strangely, Glover[10] does not appear to have noted the shield, and it does not seem likely that it was inserted after his time, as the Hunslet line had died with Chancellor Thomas in 1457. Hutton says: 'In a south window of this chapel ('on the south side of the chancell') Gascoigne, in dexter canton a †'. Johnston merely sketches the shield as he saw it in the 'south window' of the 'east end of the south isle of the Quire called Gascoyne's Quire'. Torre both draws and describes it as being 'In the S. side window of the S. Quire': 'Gascoign wth a croslet fitché sab. on the dexter side'.

It is more than a little surprising to find the magnificent and unique collection of Gascoigne, Ryther, Redman and Neville monuments in Harewood church, augmented by yet another medieval effigy, albeit one long-gone. Even more surprising is the fact that there seems to be no surviving record of it other than that of our invaluable scribe, Henry Johnston. At the time of his visit, Gawthorpe belonged to that unlikely combination of parsimony and philanthropy, Sir John Cutler, who was joint purchaser of the whole estate in 1656, from the son of the unfortunate Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford, whose grandfather had married the Gascoigne heiress, Margaret. Whether or not the chapel of the Hall was in use, or what its condition at that period, are questions which, it would seem, must remain unanswered. Its existence was not even mentioned in the survey at the time of the sale.[11] Obviously it had been in use after the Reformation, as Johnston draws two shields, one of which is the quartered arms of Wentworth and Woodhouse, with an escutcheon of pretence of Gascoigne, representing a generation following the sixteenth century Wentworth-Gascoigne marriage. A note says: 'Cut in wood on the seates in the said chapell.'

Why Henry Johnston's should be the only surviving record of the chapel's contents is equally unanswerable, but the contents of his manuscripts do answer many other hitherto unanswered questions, and perhaps pose others. He entered the order of St. Benedict in 1675, and was forced, after the Jacobite plot to assassinate William III in 1696, to take flight for France. His native land knew him no more, and he died in Paris in 1723.

(The photograph of Johnston's drawing is reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. My thanks to Geoffrey Wheeler for producing the print.)

---

3. *Testamenta Eboracensia* I. Surtees Society. 1836. p. 403 n.1.
4. R. Glover. *Visitation of Yorkshire 1584/5*. ed. Foster. 1875. pp. 463-6.
5. R. Dodsworth. *Yorkshire church notes 1619-1631*. Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series XXXIV. 1904. pp. 56-58.
6. York Minster Library. Ms XVI.L14. Collections for Yorkshire. fo. 18.
7. Bodleian Lib. op. cit. fo. 333.
8. York Minster Library. L1 (8) J. Torr(e) Archdeaconry of York 1691-2. fo. 178.
9. Argent on a pale sable a luce's head erect couped or, differenced by a cross crosslet fitchée in dexter chief.
10. Glover op. cit. pp. 467-9.
11. T. D. Whitaker. *Loidis and Elmete*. 1816. p. 168. The original document, part of the Harewood Estate papers, is now deposited in the Leeds Archives Department.

The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol. 54, 1982

HEDGEROWS IN WEST YORKSHIRE — THE HOOPER METHOD EXAMINED

By JOHN HALL

INTRODUCTION

Unlike the situation in 1966, when Mead was able to say 'the study of field boundaries has tempted few intellectual appetites',[1] there is now considerable literature on this aspect of landscape history. One part of this interest has been Hooper's hedgerow dating hypothesis,[2] with its apparent promise for the easy dating of boundaries when documentary evidence is lacking. The idea has been readily accepted by many landscape historians, but has evoked much criticism from botanists, as it conflicts with accepted theories on species succession — postulating as it does a straight line growth in species number (one new species per hundred years), rather than the normal sigmoid curve (S-shaped — slow to begin with, then rapid growth to habitat maturity and then a very slow rate of acquisition).

Dr. R. Yarwood of the West Yorkshire Archaeological Unit suggested that I should test this method. To do so it would be necessary to date hedges from documentary sources and then compare their age with species numbers on the ground. If the relationship was anywhere near Hooper's we could use the method to date boundaries when no documentary evidence existed.

The hypothesis has been independently tested in the Vale of Wrighton, Norfolk, and in Derbyshire. Fowler found no evidence for the method's working, his article being entitled 'Hedged about with doubt'.[3] Tillyard found that 'The Hooper Method had some degree of success in Creake. . . Unfortunately there were also errors; thirteen dates of over 90 were more than a hundred years out'.[4] She concluded that using Hooper's method for dating single hedges could be extremely unreliable. Willmot found a linear relationship, although not one species per hundred years, in hedges younger than the sixteenth century, but then few species in hedge on older boundaries.[5]

Other work has displayed the 'uncritical acceptance' bemoaned by Willmot, where historians have used the method to 'date' hedges without first testing its validity for the area surveyed. The use of scientific methodology in this way does no more than lend spurious respectability to informed guesswork.

METHODS AND ANALYSIS

Hedges were dated using estate, enclosure and Ordnance Survey maps held in the Leeds City Archives for relatively recent hedges, and charters published by the Thoresby Society for the medieval period.[6] Hedges from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in

---

1. W. R. Mead, 'The Study of Field Boundaries', *Geogzeit.*, 54 (1966), 101-7.
2. M. D. Hooper, 'Hedges and Local History' in *Hedges and Local History*, National Council for Social Service, London, 1971.
3. P. J. Fowler, 'Hedged about with doubt', *Bristol Archaeological Research Group Bulletin*, 5(2) (1974).
4. R. Tillyard, 'Hedge Dating in North Norfolk, The Hooper Method Examined', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 36 no. 3 (1976), 272-86.
5. A. Willmot, 'The Woody Species of hedges with special reference to age in Church Broughton Parish, Derbyshire', *J. Ecol.*, 68, I (1980), 269-86.
6. Leeds City Archives: Harewood Estate maps: L.C.A. Har Maps, 2, 14, 33, 34, 36, 40, 43, 44; W. P. Baildon and S. Margerison (eds.), "The Calverley Charters', *Thoresby Soc. Pubs.* 6 (1904).

the Harewood area were dated, due to the large number of extant estate and enclosure maps. Early medieval hedges at Calverley were used, as they had already been located on the ground by S. A. Moorhouse; at Scholes the boundary of the deer park was easily identified, 'fossilized' in the present field system. Hedges were dated by assuming them to have been planted halfway between their last presence and first absence on chronologically consecutive maps — excepting enclosure hedges which are closely dated by the Parliamentary Inclosure Act. In general the later hedges are dated with an accuracy of ± 25 years and were put in groups defined by the half century in which they are assumed to have been planted. The medieval hedges are much less accurately dated and groups no more precise than a century of planting could be used. Nine age groups were defined in the hedges sampled: thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, early eighteenth, late eighteenth, early nineteenth, late nineteenth and twentieth-century hedges.

The method of recording followed that used by Moore, Hooper and Davis;[7] the presence of all woody species was recorded in a paced 30-yard length of hedge. As many samples as possible were taken from each hedge, starting 5 yards from one end. As Pollard, Hooper and Moore point out,[8] the ends of hedges tend to be richer in species than their centres.

For the purpose of the survey a hedge was defined as a narrow line of woody plants, managed as a stock-proof barrier. Nomenclature follows Clapham, Tutin and Warburg,[9] except in the cases of Dog Rose and Elm *(Rosa sp.* and *Ulmus sp.),* where generic names are used, the problems of hybridization making the identification of individual species difficult for the non-specialist. The error introduced by this lumping is small, since the likelihood of there being two members of an aggregate in one sample is low.

Analysis

The methods of statistically analysing the information gathered in the survey are totally different from that of Hooper.[10] His analysis resulted in the equation:

age = (99 x number of species) — 16

Eighty-five per cent of variation in the species number is due to age ('r' value). This formula says that a ten-species hedge has a 95 per cent chance of being between 800 and 1150 years old. This method is called 'regression analysis' and is a standard, simple, statistical method. For it to be a valid test, however, the information must be randomly distributed and the non-stoichastic variable must have precise values. This means that there should be hedges of all the age groups from old to young in approximately equal numbers and secondly that the age of these hedges should be known precisely. Hooper admits that hedges datable to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are rare;[11] this is certainly true in West Yorkshire. Also, the age of a hedge is an estimate, at best, to within 25 years.

In the light of these facts it can be seen that the use of 'regression analysis' on this data would be mistaken. The result is to make the significance of the relationship between age and species number much greater than it actually is: 'application of regression analysis to such data results in spuriously high "r" values'.[12]

---

[7] N. W. Moore, M. D. Hooper and B. K. N. Davis, 'Hedges I, Introduction and Reconnaissance Studies', *J. Applied Ecol.* 4 (1967), 201-9.

[8] E. Pollard, M. D. Hooper and N. W. Moore, *Hedges*, London, 1974.

[9] A. R. Clapham, T. G. Tutin and E. F. Warburg, *Excursion Flora of the British Isles*, Cambridge, 2nd. ed. 1968.

[10] Op. cit. in n. 2. Cf. also C. J. Johnson, 'The Statistical limitations of hedge dating', *Local Historian* 14 (1980), 28-33 and W. Johnson 'Hedges - a review of some early literature', *Local Hist.* 13 (1979), 195-204 [Ed.].

[11] Op. cit. in n. 7.

To overcome this problem a simple 'one way analysis of variance' was used to establish if a significant difference in species number existed between the groups.[13] Then 'Duncan's Multiple Range Test' was applied to assess where the significant differences between the age groups lay.[14] Histograms showing the presence of species in sample lengths were also drawn in order to see if any plants were found only in old hedges, or if all species can be found in hedges of any age.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In all 195 samples of hedge (3.5 miles) were surveyed, of which 129 (2.2 miles) were dated closely enough to use in the analysis. Many other, dated, hedges could not be sampled, as they had been neglected. Where there was grazing pressure on the hedge this neglect had led to a loss of bottom flora and shrubs, leaving only a line of overgrown hawthorns. On arable land neglect led to species-rich belts of shrub land. One other point which became apparent during the survey was that boundaries assumed to the hedges when dated from documents were found to be either fences or stone walls. This stresses the danger of assuming the existence of a hedge simply because a boundary is proved to have existed at a given date.

In the survey 27 species of shrubs and trees were identified (Table I). Of these eight appeared only once and only eleven occured in more than 5 per cent of the samples (Fig. 1). Figure 2 shows the distribution of samples in the defined age groups and Figure 3 the number of species found in each 30-yard sample. As it can be seen, one late nineteenth-century example contains five species of shrub, and other wide divergences from 'one species per century' are apparent.

When the material was analysed, however, it was found that statistically significant differences (at the 0.1 level) did exist between the defined age groups. That is there is only a one per cent chance that all the differences in species number between the groups is due to chance. The information was then analysed, using the 'Duncan Multiple Range Test', to see where these differences lay (Table 2). This test showed that it was not possible to distinguish statistically between hedges planted less than one hundred years apart, e.g. early nineteenth-century and late eighteenth-century examples, but that it would be possible to distinguish between the twentieth and eighteenth-century groups of hedges.

We can also see that, although it is possible to distinguish between relatively recent groups, the older hedges (of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries) form a statistically indistinguishable group. This may be due to an insufficient sample in the thirteenth and fifteenth-century groups — with the wide variations in species numbers in the samples (Fig. 2), this could lead to a high mean (fifteenth century) or to an unrealistically low one (thirteenth century). It may also be another example of the phenomenon observed by Willmot, who could not distinguish between hedges on boundaries older than A.D. 1630 and those planted at about that date. The explanation advanced was that, although the boundaries existed before 1630, the hedges were planted later, thus making the hedges themselves contemporary.[15] This may be the case with the hedges sampled here for which a fifteenth-century date was postulated. A factor complicating the picture is the frequent reference in the court rolls of manors in the area to the practice of repairing hedges simply by digging out the old shrubs and planting new.[16] This makes the dating of early hedges from documents a risky business. Even if a hedge is known to have been planted originally in a particular year, it may well have been dug up and replanted a century later, making nonsense of any attempt to correlate age and species number. Thus the insurmountable problem with the method is that of identifying old hedges of accurately known date.

---

[12] Kenny and Keeping, *Mathematics of Statistics, Part I,* Princeton, 3rd. ed. 1954.

[13] R. E. Parker, 'Introductory Statistics for Biology', *Studies in Biology,* (1973), 43.

[14] J. L. Bruning and T. Z. Kinte, *Computational Handbook of Statistics,* New York, 1968.

[15] Op. cit. in n. 5.

[16] M. L. Faull and S. A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500,* Wakefield, 1981, 56-7. 270, 686.

THE HISTOGRAMS

These show the distribution of eight of the most common hedge species within the age groups and reveal an interesting pattern, in that certain species are present in hedges of all ages. Hawthorn *(Crataegus monogyna),* elder *(Sambucus nigra)* and Dog rose *(Rosa canina)* fall into this class. Hawthorn is, of course, the major constituent of planted hedgerows and the only species found in the most recent ones. Elder is a plant of disturbed ground and thus finds recently planted hedgerows an ideal habitat; its resistance to rabbits is also an advantage.

The second type of distribution is shown by oak *(Quercus),* holly *(Ilex aquifolium)* and sycamore *(Acer pseudoplantanus),* which are found only occasionally in recently planted hedges and only become at all common in older hedges. The third distribution is shown by hazel *(Corylus avellana)* and field maple *(Acer campestre),* species only found in hedges planted in the fifteenth century and earlier.

Hooper believed that this was due to the pattern of succession in hedges, the habitat being suitable only when several species are already present. This seems a possible explanation; another is that although hazel and maple are both colonisers of recent hedges they are both common in old deciduous woodlands. Their ability to colonise hedges may depend on the abundance of woodland in the area, i.e. of seed sources.[17] That is to suggest that hazel and field maple are found in woodland relic hedges (i.e. that they were there already when the strip of woodland was left during assarting) and in hedges planted when woodland was more common than it is now — this latter idea seems to be contradicted by Helliwell's work in Shropshire.[18] There he showed that woodland species do not spread readily through the hedge network even when one end of a hedge abuts on a wood.

CONCLUSIONS

The Hooper method postulates a linear relationship between the age and the number of species found in a hedge. In the very broadest sense this is shown to be true, in that old hedges have, on average, more species than young ones. The variation in the number of species found in hedges of relatively accurately known dates (that is enclosure hedges) shows the unreliability of any rule of thumb 'one species per hundred years' for dating single hedges, as Tillyard has already pointed out.

The level of variation in our samples suggests that only groups of even recent hedges can be dated, and then only within a two-century period. The method becomes more inaccurate with increasing age, so that a medieval hedge (thirteenth—fourteenth centuries) can only be dated within a three-century period. The increasing inaccuracy may be a reflection of the difficulty experienced in obtaining reliable dates for hedges of this period.

From the results of this survey it would seem that the limits of the method are in distinguishing groups of hedges as medieval, post-medieval and modern. At this level of accuracy field shapes, names, or other landscape considerations are probably as good a guide. The use of species composition to identify woodland relic hedges may well be a valuable tool for landscape historians.

The problems surrounding Hooper's Hypothesis are inherent in any study based on biological materials and statistical analysis - compounded by the impossibility of determining accurately the age of specimen hedges. It must be remembered that even a dated boundary is not good evidence of hedge date, but only gives a *terminus post quem*.

---

[17] Op. cit. in n. 8.

[18] D. R. Helliwell, 'The Distribution of Woodland Plant Species in Some Shropshire Hedgerows', *Biol. Conserv.*, 7 (1975), 61-72.

The difficulties of dating must not distract us from the fact that hedges are as much a survival of the ancient landscape as are the medieval ditches, platforms and ridge and furrow observed whilst surveying hedges at Calverley, or as the double ditch and bank (which carried the hedge) identifiable as the medieval park boundary at Scholes. They therefore need action to preserve this important part of our historical heritage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research described in this paper was originally done as part of an undergraduate dissertation in the Department of Archaeology of the University of Leeds. Thanks are due to Dr. Simon Clark of the Department of Plant Sciences at Leeds for advice on data analysis, and to Dr. Bob Yarwood and Steve Moorhouse of the West Yorkshire Archaeological Unit for their help.

TABLE 1

Showing number of 30-yard lengths of hedge in which species grow

			Dated Hedges (cents)								
							E	L	E	L	
Species	Common Name	All hedges	13	14	15	17	18	18	19	19	20
Salix caprea	Great Sallow	1									
Salix cinerea	Common Sallow	6		1			3		1	1	
Ulex europaeus	Gorse	4	3								
Cytisus scoparius	Broom	1									
Castanea sativa	Sweet Chestnut	1									
Quercus robur	Oak	24	7	2	2	2		1	3		
Corylus avellana	Hazel	33	4	4	4	4					
Betula pubescens	Birch	1									
Ulmus sp.	Elm	22		4	1			3	1		
Cornus sanguinea	Dogwood	7	1	3					1		
Malus sylvestris	Crabapple	7	1	1				2			
Sorbus aria	White Beam	1									
Sorbus acuparia	Rowan	3	1								
Crataegus monogyna	Hawthorn	193	7	18	4	5	25	13	33	14	10
Prunus spinosa	Blackthorn	23	1	1		1			3	2	
Prunus avium	Wild Cherry	1									
Rosa canina agg.	Dog Rose	81	1	12		2	14	10	9	3	
Rubrus fruticosus (Sensu lato)	Bramble	195	7	18	4	5	25	13	33	14	10
Ilex aquifolium	Holly	27	4	3	4	1			4	1	
Acer pseudoplantanus	Sycamore	24		8		3	4	1	1		
Acer campestre	Field Maple	11	2	2	2						
Tillia platyphyllos	Large Leaved Lime	1									
Tillia X vulgaris	Common Lime	6		4							
Sambucus nigra	Elder	110	2	13	4	5	17	4	16	4	
Fraxinus excelsior	Ash	36		12			2	2	1	2	
Ligustrum vulgare	Privet	3		2							
Aesculus hippocastanum	Horse Chestnut	1									

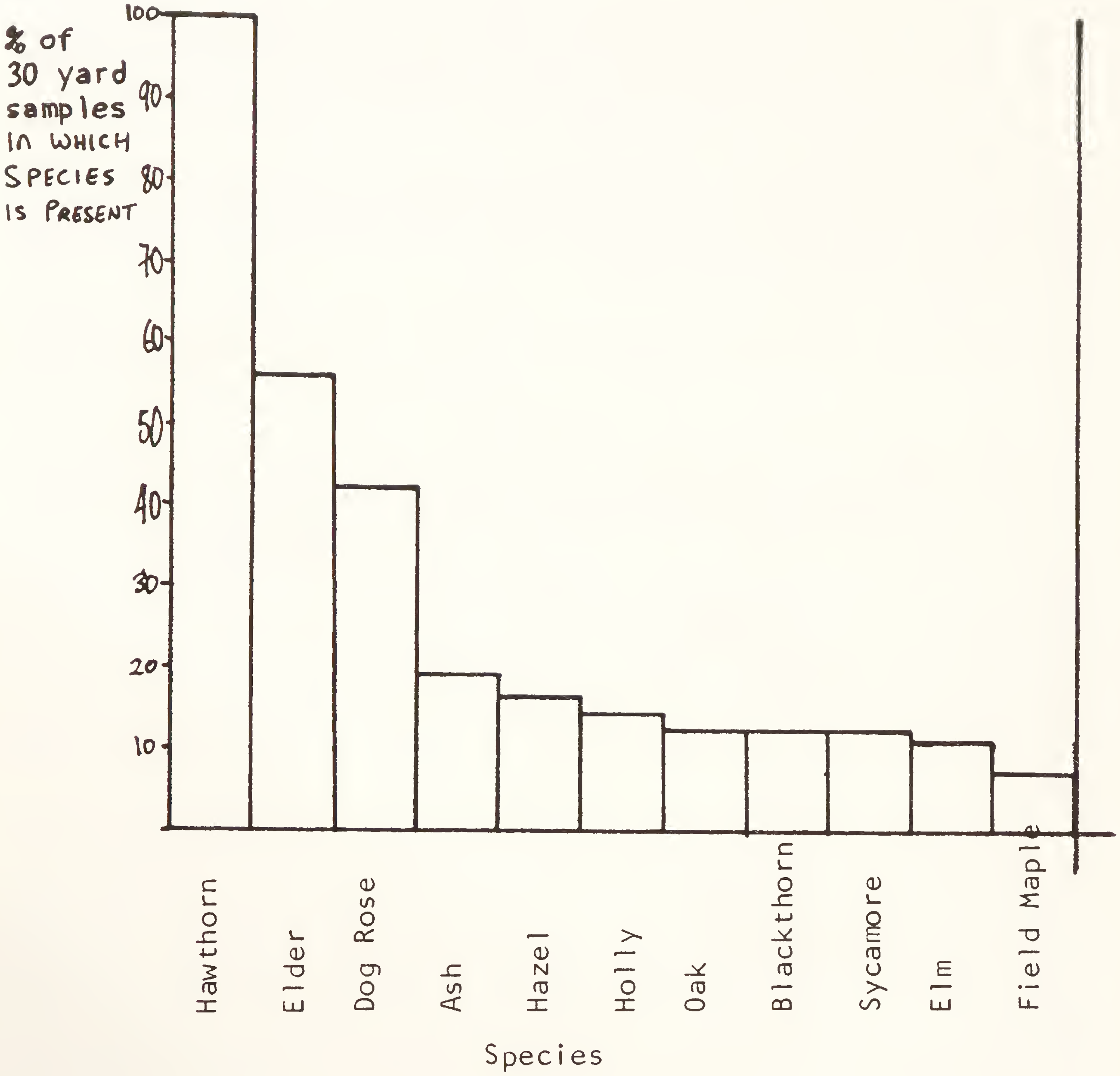


Figure 1 Showing the eleven most common species found in all hedge samples

(Species present in more than 5% of all samples)

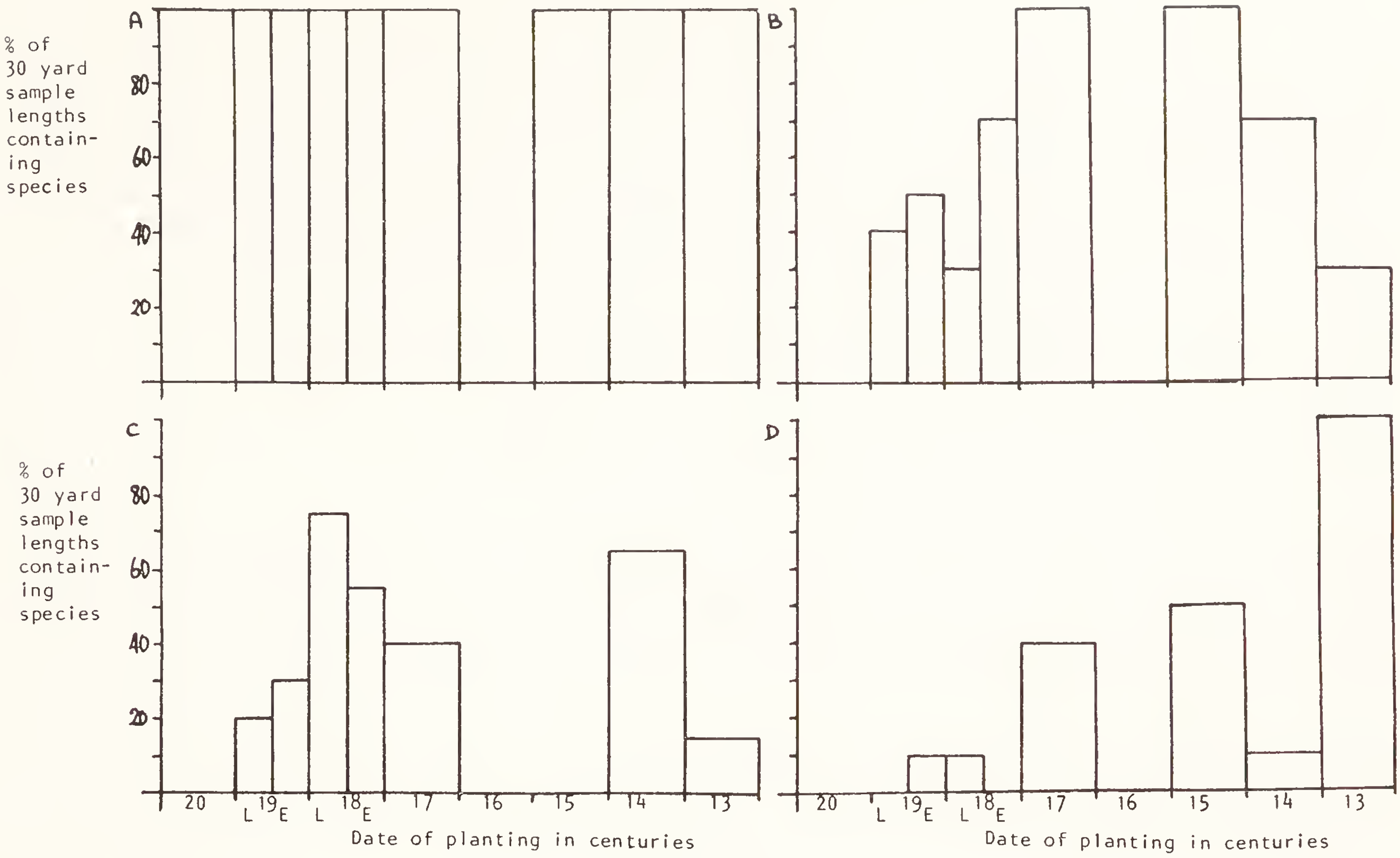


Figure 4

Results *A: Crataegus monogyna* *C: Rosa canina*

B: Sambucus nigra *D: Quercus sp.*

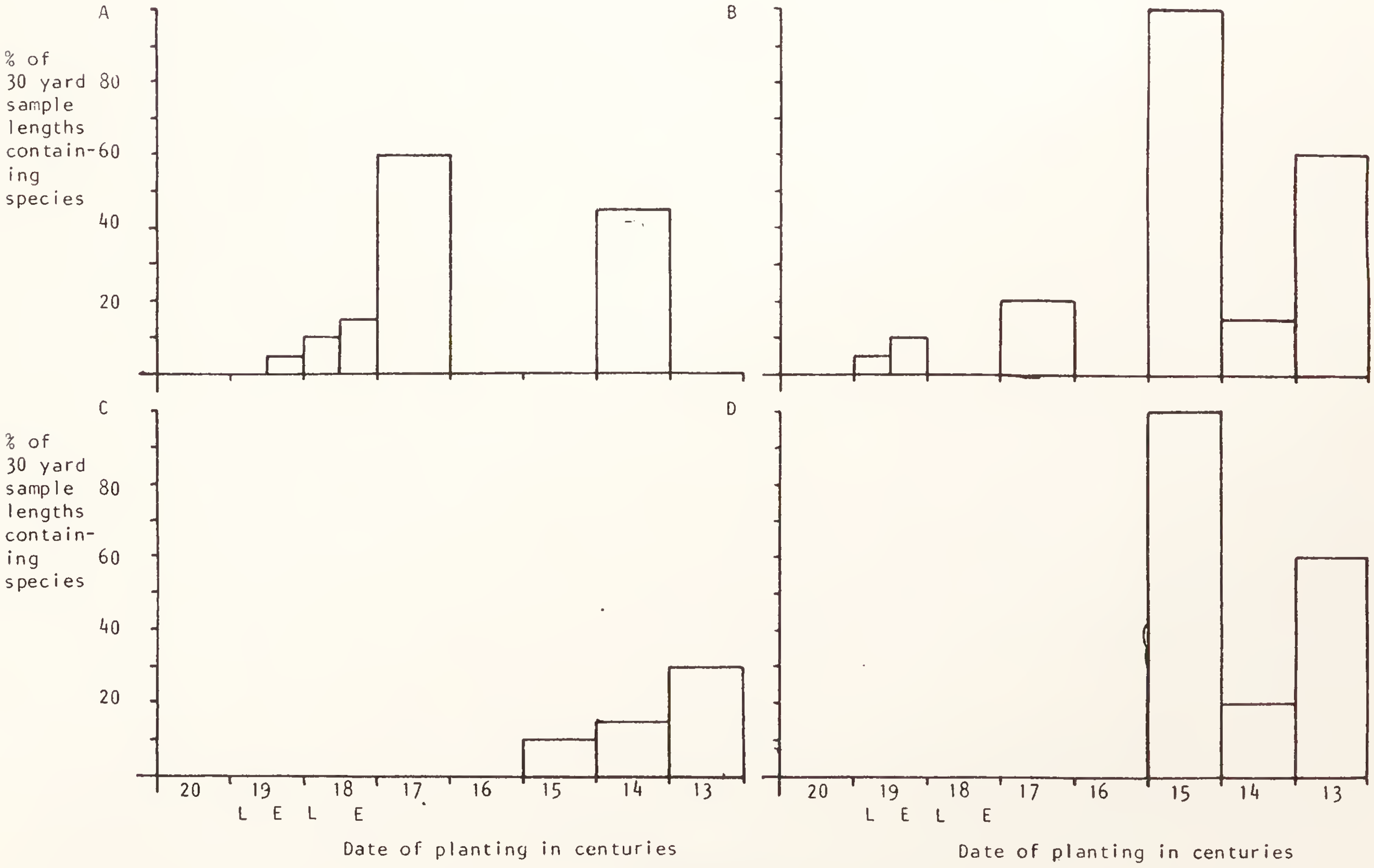


Figure 5

Results *A: Acer pseudoplatanus* *C: Corylus avellana*

B: Ilex aquifolium *D: Acer campestre*

SOME EVIDENCE OF SURVIVING OPEN FIELDS IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PENNINE DALES AND THE GRADUAL ELIMINATION OF COMMUNAL AGRICULTURE

By Roger Fieldhouse

One of the more interesting and surprising features of the Yorkshire dales landscape in the early seventeenth century is that, contrary to the impressions formed by some contemporary observers and modern historians,[1] there still existed some fairly extensive open common fields, although these were relatively small in comparison with the quantity of enclosed land.

At Grassington in Wharfedale there were three open arable fields, totalling 412 acres, surrounding the village on three sides when the Earl of Cumberland commisioned a survey of his manor in 1603. The largest was East Field, containing 453 separate strips or selions. The West Field contained 283 selions and Sedbur Field 128. The 864 selions varied quite considerably in size but averaged just under half an acre. They were held by thirty tenants, most of whom had selions scattered throughout all three fields. The existence of some closes within the open fields as well as the Cove Closes and High Close adjoining West Field indicates that piecemeal enclosure had already encroached on these open fields before the beginning of the seventeenth century.[2]

A survey of the Crown lands belonging to the Lordships of Middleham and Richmond, made in 1605, provides further valuable information about the agrarian landscape of the Pennine dales at that date.[3] These once extensive lordships still included a small area of upper Wharfedale, around Kettlewell; an extensive part of Wensleydale on the south side of the river together with Coverdale, Bishopdale, Raydale and Widdale; New Forest and Arkengarthdale on the north side of Swaledale and small areas elsewhere in Swaledale and Teesdale. Altogether there were 980 leaseholders and 95 freeholders within the two lordships, occupying nearly 16,000 acres of land in the fertile dale bottoms as well as very extensive pastures and commons on the fells.

At Kettlewell, near the head of Wharfedale, the Crown lands consisted of 107 acres of freehold (yielding peppercorn rents) and approximately 470 acres of leasehold land, occupied by 42 landholders. There were three common fields in the dale bottom: Eastfield in the occupancy of 39 landholders; Westfield (35 landholders) and Haytongue (33 occupying landholders). 32 of the 42 landholders had land in all three fields; four held land in two of the fields; three had land in only one field and three held no land in the common fields. In the majority of cases the landholders had several pieces of land in each of the fields and sometimes numerous pieces or parcels there. The fields appear to have been still partially open - particularly the arable parts - but there were also a number of closes within these three fields, indicating that, as at Grassington, they were undergoing a gradual process of piecemeal enclosure.

---

[1] T. S. Willan & E. W. Crossley, 'Three Seventeenth Century Yorkshire Surveys', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, vol. 104 (1941), pp. 146-9; J. Thirsk (ed), *The Agrarian Hist. of England & Wales*, vol. 4 (1967), pp. 6, 29-30, 203 & 246.

[2] Susan D. Brooks, *A History of Grassington* (Clapham, Lancs, 1979), pp. 24-9 and further information from Miss Brooks, for which I am grateful. The 1603 survey is at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

[3] There are two versions of this 1605 survey: a summary at the Y.A.S. was edited by E. W. Crossley and published in Willan & Crossley, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-105. An unpublished version is at the Public Record Office, LR2/195 which contains details of all field names, making it possible to locate the whereabouts of each landholder's every acre and parcel of land.

The Eastfield was some 232 acres in extent: a mixture of arable and meadow land, with a small amount of pasture also. There were 76½ acres of arable in the hands of 32 different men and women. There is no indication that this arable land was enclosed in any way. There were likewise 74½ acres of meadow and meadow leys which were apparently unenclosed and a further 35½ acres of meadow lying in various closes within the Eastfield. As with the arable, the meadow consisted of numerous small pieces or parcels of land and was shared out amongst nearly all the landholders. There were also five acres of pasture in the Eastfield and a further 41 acres of unspecified land, nearly half of it lying in six small closes and the remainder in divers other parcels in this field.

The Westfield was less than half as big as the Eastfield. It consisted of 44 acres of open arable land shared between 28 different landholders; 41½ acres of open meadow also shared amongst a large number of people and a further ten acres of meadow lying in six little closes. There was also an odd acre of woodland, bringing the total acreage of the Westfield to 96½ acres.

The third common field, Haytongue, only had one acre of arable at Haytongue Head. It was predominantly a hay field, as the name suggests. There were 123 acres of apparently unenclosed meadow and leys and 12 acres acres of enclosed meadowland, including three acres of what was described as 'communal meadow' held by Thomas Hulley in the Haytongue Close. There were also four acres of pasture; half an acre of woodland and 18½ acres of unspecified land, making the Haytongue Field some 159 acres in all.

There were thus approximately 487 acres of common field shared between all but three of the landholders in Kettlewell. Whilst some of this communal land seems to have been converted into closes, about eighty per cent of it was still apparently open. After the hay or corn crops had been harvested, Emanuel Scrope and the ten free tenants enjoyed the right of depasture in these open fields where there was a total of 51 beastgates.

At Carlton in Coverdale there was a 'common field' of approximately 75 acres where 14 of the 34 tenants held one or more parcels of arable or meadow land. There were also 38 acres of meadow and arable land in the West and East fields, shared between 18 of the tenants.

One of the clearest examples of open field survival in Wensleydale was to be found at West Witton where 26 of the 46 tenants had land in the High, East and Low fields. These 26 represent the majority of tenants with any significant amounts of land. The three fields were described as the 'common fields' and consisted of approximately 120 acres of arable land. Their whereabouts is still clearly indicated by the scatter of lynchets in the landscape around West Witton, particularly to the east of the village. A few miles to the west there were remnants of common fields at Swinthwaite where five of the nine tenants held land in the West Field and four in the Low Field. Most of these small parcels were arable.

In Bishopdale, there were quite extensive common open fields at West Burton, Thoralby and Newbiggin. There were four arable open fields at West Burton: Nether Field and Longrood Field, each occupied by 16 of the 27 tenants of the township, and Eastfield and Mill Field, both of which had 13 occupants. Altogether these four fields totalled almost 125 acres and contained all but two or three acres of the arable land in the township. At Thoralby some 18 of the 65 tenants had land in the East and West Cornfields which were described as 'in common'. Despite their name, these fields were not totally arable by this date: they included some meadow. There was also a common meadow called Crooksby shared by 23 of the tenants. Nearby, at Newbiggin, there were nearly 100 acres of arable land in the open fields called Eastfield, Mill Field and East and West Longhills Field. Of the 27 tenants in this township, 15 had small parcels of land in all these fields and another eight had land in two of the fields. The Westfield had become a common meadow by this date, shared by 20 of the tenants.

Thus there was quite clearly a residue of common open field farming in some of the townships of Coverdale, Wensleydale and Bishopdale. There was also possibly the remnant of an open field at Worton, higher up Wensleydale. Almost all the arable farming still practised in Wensleydale and its tributary dales at this time was in fact to be found in these surviving open fields.[4]

There is hardly any sign in the 1605 survey of common open fields in Arkengarthdale although a half acre 'parcel of land in the Intake called a dale in common' in the possession of John Coates de Bowes must be an echo of former open field practices. But there was one 45-acre meadow, the Fodderingholme, which was shared by 35 of the 44 tenants. Most had small, half-acre portions although a few men had much larger shares. This common meadow, like others in the dales such as the Haytongue at Kettlewell, Crooksby at Thoralby and the Westfield at Newbiggin, was almost certainly still organised as a common open field with specific strips being allocated to each tenement and the whole field thrown open to common grazing after haytime, as was the practice in other parts of Yorkshire.[5]

Mentions of a parcel of meadow in the Commonfield lands of Harkerside and an acre of meadow in the Northfield at Reeth suggest the survival of some communal farming in mid-Swaledale also, which certainly continued for a few more years (see below).

In Teesdale, the small township of Boldron, a mile and a half south-west of Barnard Castle, was unquestionably still an open field community at this time. Two of the Crown's nine tenants there merely possessed beastgates in the cowpastures and some common grazing rights, but the other seven shared one fairly extensive and four small common fields:

Field Name	Boldron Tenants' Acreages							Total Acreage
	R. Wilson	L. Mitchell	T. Mitchell	M. Clarkson	T. Richardson	J. Wharton	J.	
Northfield	18	18	18	18	18	15	12	117
Eastfield	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	19
Le Flowers & Westfield	3½	3	3	3	2	2	2	18½
Le Flatt	2½	3	3	3	2	2	1½	17
Le Ings	1½	2	2	2	1¼	1½	1	11¼
Total	**28½**	**29**	**29**	**29**	**25¼**	**23½**	**18½**	**182¾**

There were 30½ acres of arable land lying in small parcels in Eastfield, le Flowers/Westfield and le Flatt. The remainder was merely called 'land' and was probably common meadow.

A few miles to the west at Bowes, mentions of a rayne in the Highfield and land 'in the Highfield in commune' also suggest some vestige of common field agriculture there. Six

---

4. The description of the open fields of Coverdale, Wensleydale and Bishopdale first appeared in Wensleydale W. E. A. History Class, 'Farming and the Landscape in Seventeenth Century Wensleydale', *North Yorkshire County Record Office Journal*, no. 6 (1978), p. 49. See also R. Fieldhouse, 'Agriculture in Wensleydale from 1600 to the Present Day', *Northern History*, vol. 16 (1980), pp. 169-95.
5. J. A. Sheppard, 'Field Systems of Yorkshire' in A. R. H. Baker & R. A. Butlin, *Studies of Field Systems of the British Isles (1973)*, p. 156.

fields were still occupied by ten or more of the 42 landholders and may be regarded as remnants of the communal system, i.e.

Le Myrekeld and Great Myrekeld	10 tenants: 53 acres
Northside	10 tenants: 77 acres
'Subter Killment'	10 tenants: 109 acres
Lowfield with East and West Lowfield	11 tenants: 95 acres
Highfield	12 tenants: 54 acres
Killment Close	23 tenants: 93½ acres

It is altogether evident that some significant remnants of the common open fields survived in the Pennine dales rather longer than was once supposed. Nor were these early seventeenth-century surveys the last evidence of their survival. In 1620 Lord Wharton leased to Mathew Levett of Healaugh in Swaledale for 30 years "thirty three acres of arable land lying in the town fields of Healaugh together with dales and land ends of meadow in the town fields'. This is almost certainly a further description of open field survival, but it was also probably a description of a disappearing phenomenon as it was observed that 'Lord Wharton and Sir Thomas Wharton intend to divide and sever the town fields of Healaugh after the expiration of certain leases now in being . . .' Mention of a 'close called stripa . . . lying in Harkeyside' in 1635 and 'one acre of meadow in Northfield in Reeth', in 1680 are probably echoes of former open fields rather than still-existing ones but in Wensleydale in 1682 James Taylor still possessed an 'unenclosed parcel called Thornebers, two acres . . . in the townfields of Thorraby' which he conveyed to his son. And three years later, when the Marquess of Winchester was enclosing a large park at New Bolton in lower Wensleydale, he allotted 'two arable lands . . . lying and being in the West field of [Wensley], within two Rainds, and running westward up to the Headland, from the way crossing the middle of the said field. . .' in compensation for the loss of parts of six other riggs or lands formerly lying in the Westfield and now enclosed in the park. This is a clear description both of the survival of an open field in Wensley in 1685 and, as at Healaugh 60 years previously, its diminution or disappearance resulting from the landlord's activities.[6]

By the end of the seventeenth century the common open fields of the dales had very largely disappeared, there being very little later evidence of them; the last vestiges being eliminated by the process of piecemeal enclosure which had been slowly transforming the fertile bottom lands for centuries. Despite the surprisingly late survival of some common open fields in the dales which has been described, the process of enclosure was well advanced in the dale bottoms by the time the Crown surveyed its lands there at the beginning of the seventeenth century. By far the greater part of the 15,600 acres of 'bottom' land belonging to the Crown in Wharfedale, Wensleydale, Coverdale, Bishopdale, Raydale, Widdale, Swaledale, Arkengarthdale and Teesdale in 1605 was enclosed. And a survey of the 'Manor of Wensleydale' records that more than 4,500 acres of land in Abbotside at the top end of Wensleydale was in a similarly enclosed state in 1614.[7]

While some of this piecemeal enclosure dates back to the medieval period, more was carried out during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, in the Manor of Walburn, lying between Wensleydale and Swaledale, some enclosing had certainly taken place before 1500 but the open fields were not fully extinguished until the sixteenth century, probably during Queen Elizabeth's reign when enclosing was said to have occurred. By 1586 the 1,133 acres of arable/meadow land at Walburn were enclosed within 33 separate fields. The process of sub-dividing these into smaller closes continued

---

6. R. Fieldhouse & B. Jennings, *A History of Richmond & Swaledale* (1978), pp. 142-3; N.Y.C.R.O., ZBY 2; Wensleydale WEA Hist. Class, *op. cit.*, p. 57
7. Willan & Crossley, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

during the next two centuries, creating 62 enclosed fields by the early eighteenth century and 120 by the 1820s. At near-by Marske, a boundary dispute of 1569 refers to the 'ancient enclosed ground of the manor' while a survey of the manorial demesne taken 25 years later lists six meadow closes (ranging from 12 to 40 acres in size) and 12 small pasture closes, although it seems probable that some open field farming was still practised there at the end of the sixteenth century. By the early eighteenth century there were 160 fields enclosing 1,330 acres at Marske. Although they included a few large pastures, there were also numerous small fields, many of them long and narrow fossilisations of earlier open field selions.[8]

At Grassington there had also been considerable consolidation of selions in the open fields by exchange or sale by the end of the seventeenth century to provide large enough areas of land to make reasonable enclosures. Grassington's open fields were steadily disappearing behind a growing network of walls, although some remnants did survive until the Parlimentary enclosure of the stinted pastures in 1792.[9] Thus it can be seen that the process of enclosure which was well advanced by the beginning of the seventeenth century was a continuous one.

The amount of this enclosed land was constantly extended by a nibbling away or intaking of the commons. In a dispute between lords and tenants in upper Swaledale in the 1560s it was agreed by both sides that intaking of various cow pastures had been taking place since the beginning of the century, if not earlier. A settlement of the dispute did not halt the process. In 1582 the tenants complained to the government that their landlords were enclosing parts of their commons. A further compromise settlement was reached between lords and tenants in 1618, recognising the further intaking that had taken place in recent years. About the same time the Crown also attempted to discover 'what encroachments and inclosures . . . of the wastes and commons' had been illegally made by its tenants in the Lordships of Middleham and Richmond. Later in the century, when Charles Bathurst became lord of the Manor of Arkengarthdale in 1656, he claimed the right to improve and enclose any of the waste grounds so long as he left sufficient common for his tenants. Meanwhile, the intaking was apparently continuing in Swaledale: in 1661 the steward of the manor was demanding extra rent from the tenants for further intaking and enclosure of the wastes. Other evidence of this continued enclosure is found in numerous references to intakes and new intakes in rentals, leases and manorial court books. The latter record frequent fines for encroachment of the commons, although this was often more in the nature of a rent than a punishment, recognising the process rather than trying to prevent it.[10]

If enclosure had largely transformed the agricultural landscape of the dale bottoms by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and totally by the end of the century, this did not mean the immediate termination of communal agriculture. This survived much longer in a variety of ways: in the sharing of small meadow closes in the dale bottoms; the stinting of cow and ewe pastures on the lower fellsides; and the grazing of extensive commons on the higher moors; as well as in the sharing of labour, equipment and even capital. (Although this article is not concerned with this last aspect, farming records reveal how labour and equipment were frequently shared between neighbours as required until very recent times, while probate inventories illustrate how a complex pattern of money lending amongst farmers helped to keep them solvent during difficult periods before the days of bank loans.)

The sharing of meadow and pasture closes between two or more tenants continued long after the disappearance of the open arable fields. The large communal meadows at

---

[8] Fieldhouse & Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-4.

[9] Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 32 and information from Miss Brooks.

[10] Fieldhouse & Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 126 & 145-6.

Kettlewell, Thoralby, Newbiggin and Arkengarthdale, shared by a majority of those townships' tenants in 1605, have already been mentioned. But in almost every township there were many other smaller closes which were shared between several tenants. For example at Bowes, apart from the six 'common' fields listed above, there were 37 small closes (averaging 3.8 acres in size) each occupied by a single tenant and 16 larger closes (average 19 acres) each of which was shared between two and eight tenants. At Kettlewell, in addition to the three large common fields, there were approximately 135 acres in 60 small closes and odd parcels of land. It is possible that some of these also lay within the common fields but there is no clear indication of their location. It seems likely that most of them were on the periphery of the once-common land and had progressed farthest from the communal farming pattern. They were a mixture of meadow and pasture: there was less than two acres of arable. But whereas some two-thirds of these little closes were each occupied by a single tenant, about 20 were still shared between any number up to ten occupiers. And so it was in every township where some or, in many cases, *most* of the meadows were still held jointly by several tenants, despite enclosure. It is clear that the medieval open fields were not suddenly eliminated by tenant farmers each acquiring a number of enclosed fields which they immediately farmed individually. There was a long intermediate stage, during which the enclosed meadows were shared among a number of neighbouring farmers. This intermediate stage continued for many decades. For example, in 1674 James Alcock of Walburn took a lease for a third-part of the East and West Great Fields and ten years later Miles Coltam leased a one-third of the East and West Great Fields and ten years later Miles Coltam leased a one-third part of the Great Field meadow. Such multiple occupancy survived well into the eighteenth century but gradually the further sub-division of the fields led to the creation of large numbers of individually-occupied closes.[11]

On the lower slopes of the fellsides, above the common fields and small closes in the fertile dale bottoms, were the large enclosed pastures, often several hundred acres in size, found throughout the dales in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These were the stinted or controlled pastures in which all or many of the inhabitants of a township held beastgates. Each beastgate entitled the holder to graze a specific number of sheep or cattle, the number varying according to the quality of the pasture and the time of year. For example, at Walden in Bishopdale in 1751 it was agreed that a beastgate entitled the owner to graze four geld sheep and three ewes and lambs in the West Pasture there, but on Reeth Moor in Swaledale in the early nineteenth century one beastgate permitted the owner to graze in summertime one cow of two years old or upwards or a yearling colt, filly, ass or mule, or two rams or mug ewes with their followers, three geld mug sheep or hard ewes with followers, four geld hard sheep or ten geese. Three-year-old stirks counted as two gates and a mare with foal as two-and-one-half. The winter stint was fixed at half the summer quantity. Originally beastgates would have been allotted to tenants in proportion to the size of their holdings and this pattern was still evident in some places. For example, at Bradley in Coverdale in 1605, tenants with 30 acres had 16 beastgates and six sheepgates; tenants with half the quantity of land had exactly half as many gates. Similarly at Kettlewell in Wharfedale, nearly every tenant had beastgates in the large Cam Pasture and Middlemoor Ewe Pasture (each of which contained just over 200 gates) in approximate proportion to the size of his holding in the open common fields and enclosed meadows. But during the seventeenth century beastgates and even parts of beastgates were extensively let and sub-let, such as the 240 gates on Muker Common Pasture in Swaledale, each let in the early eighteenth century for 16*s. per annum* to anyone who was willing to pay the rent. Elsewhere beastgates were bought and sold separately from the land they had originally been attached to. These processes resulted in an uneven distribution of beastgates in many townships, with one or two landholders gradually accumulating most of the gates. This eventually led to the cowpastures, like the enclosed meadows, falling into the hands of a single landholder, but this rarely occurred before the eighteenth century, and frequently they remained communal much later. While still communal, the pastures were carefully regulated and husbanded, with controlled grazing during the winter months, normally followed by a closed period in the spring to allow the grass to grow before the summer fattening season. For example, at Downholme in Swaledale the beastgate holders called an annual meeting to review the stinting practices for How Hill Pasture, fix penalties for overstocking and appoint a person to inspect and manage the pasture where grazing was confined to horned cattle from May to 10 October (each beast to be reckoned as one gate). Between 10 October and 2 February the permitted stint was halved and then the pasture was closed until May. A common bull was also kept for the use of the beastgate owners. Similar regulations were in force in most of the stinted pastures in the dales during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in many cases much later.[12]

---

[11] *Ibid*, p. 143; Wensleydale WEA Hist. Class, *op. cit.*, p. 50; P.R.O., LR2/195.

Above the stinted pastures lay the unstinted commons and wastes where theoretically farmers could graze as much stock as they wished, although the custom was normally to limit the number to the amount of stock a man could support during the winter months on the hay grown on his enclosed land, to prevent unscrupulous overstocking. In 1617 it was stated 'that there be many great and spacious commons and wastes. . . being open and not enclosed. . . being for the most part eyther Montaynes and Cragges or Mosse.' How spacious were the commons is demonstrated by a survey of the Manor of Arkengarthdale made in 1718 in which the moors and waste were said to measure 14,467 acres - ninety per cent of the total area of the manor. Most of the other manors and townships had a similar amount of common moorland on the higher fellsides where the tenants enjoyed a variety of common rights, including the right to cut peat; to pull ling or bracken for fuel or thatching; and collect wood and stone for building houses, repairing hedges and walls, making farm implements and for fuel; as well as the common grazing. Few of the boundaries of these large moorland wastes were clearly defined and this sometimes led to disputes, particularly if mineral rights were involved. In some places the commons were shared between more than one manor, as was the case between Walburn and neighbouring Bellerby.

As with the stinted pastures, the commons and common rights were carefully regulated and protected by the manorial courts to prevent overstocking or misuse. People were fined for overstocking or encroaching, for putting diseased animals on the commons, for dogging sheep, altering water-courses and taking ling, wood, stones or fish without licence. Walls and gates were kept in good repair. Herdsmen were hired to mind the cattle and sheep and sometimes a common bull was hired. Care and attention was paid to the commons because they were vitally important to the agriculture of the Pennine dales, rendering otherwise economically unviable smallholdings into quite extensive farms. They made it possible for farmers to keep considerablly more stock than would seem possible from the apparent acreages of their farms. For example, in the early seventeenth century 22 Wensleydale farms containing 506 acres of enclosed meadow and pasture and about 11 acres of arable, supported some 1,143 sheep, 388 cattle and 46 horses. This meant that each acre of meadow or pasture was apparently supporting 2.25 sheep, 0.75 cows and 0.1 horses - an impossible stocking ratio if it were not for the 210 beastgates and extensive unstinted common also belonging to the farms.

Continuous encroachment and intaking did gradually reduce the commons but there was still a vast quantity of rough moorland grazing which accounted for a much greater

---

12. P.R.O., LR2/195; N.Y.C.R.O., ZCC Thoralby manorial records; Fieldhouse & Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 & 465-6.

area than all the enclosed land. But from *c.* 1760 they began to be enclosed wholesale, by agreement or Act of Parliament, and allotted to individual landowners. Several commons were enclosed during the later eighteenth century, such as the 1,675 acre common shared by Walburn and Bellerby, enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1772 and the 1,074-acre common on Fremington Edge in Swaledale, divided in 1776 into 47 allotments shared amongst 29 people, of whom the largest single beneficiary was the chief landowner and lord of the manor, Thomas Elliot, who received 330 acres. However, most enclosure of the moorland commons took place during the first half of the nineteenth century, and continued intermittently down to the 1880s.

Usually the commons were completely divided up and allotted to individuals, as at Fremington, but in one or two instances they were enclosed with a ring fence and stinted, as at Reeth in 1826 when the 4,216-acre common was divided into beastgates. The object of all these enclosures was to improve the quality of the rough grazing and prevent overstocking, as well as to secure to the landowners' undisturbed use land which had previously been subject to a variety of common rights which were extinguished by enclosure. Enclosing of commons may also have gained popularity after the mid-eighteenth century cattle plagues which appeared to spread particularly on the common grazing, although not so much in the dales as in the lowlands further east.[13]

---

[13] P.R.O., E.178/4831 & D.L.44/1022; N.Y.C.R.O., ZCC, ZPG 5/3-5 & various enclosure awards; Fieldhouse & Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-8; Wensleydale WEA Hist. Class, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-4; Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-8.

YORKSHIRE AND THE AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION, 1730-1750

By J. V. Beckett

Historians are generally agreed that the 1730s and 1740s were decades of depression in agriculture, particularly in the corn counties. In his seminal article on the subject Professor G. E. Mingay drew upon material from records of the Kingston estates in Nottinghamshire,[1] but he has since produced evidence to suggest that depression was widespread: complaints were heard from counties as scattered as Berkshire, Cheshire, Denbighshire, Derbyshire, Essex, Hampshire, Kent, Lincolnshire, Middlesex and Yorkshire.[2] Although referring to Yorkshire in two books, Mingay has never given any detail about prevailing conditions in the county during the 1730s and 1740s. This article will examine the evidence of one estate, at Warter in the East Riding, in an attempt to throw some light on the county's experience of depression.[3]

I

Warter was owned by the Pennington family, whose chief seat was Muncaster Castle on the west Cumberland coast. They inherited the estate in 1678 when Sir William Pennington (1655-1730) married Isabel, only daughter and heiress of John Stapleton of Warter. The Penningtons were prominent gentry in Cumberland, two of their number representing the county in Parliament during the eighteenth century. Sir Joseph (1678-1744), eldest son and heir of Sir William, married Margaret, fourth daughter of the first viscount Lonsdale. He was appointed comptroller of cash in the excise office in 1723, a post that he held until 1734 when he resigned in order to be returned as member of Parliament for Cumberland. His second son and heir, Sir John (*c.*1710-68) succeeded him both at the excise and later in the Parliamentary seat.

Warter lies on the edge of the Wolds about four miles east of Pocklington, in clayland sheep-corn country similar to that in the Midland counties where Mingay found evidence of depression.[4] The 7000-acre estate actually yielded more than half of the Penningtons' total income but, because it did not carry the same prestige value as the family's ancestral Cumbrian home, Sir William Pennington settled it upon Joseph at his marriage in 1706. For most of the next twenty-four years, until he succeeded his father in the Cumbrian property, Joseph Pennington resided in Yorkshire, and during this time the estate showed both a rapid rise in rents and an enlightened agricultural policy on the home farm. In 1706 the total rental stood at £614, but by 1733 it had risen to £979. The estate accounts reveal a sharp fall around 1714, and a levelling through the rest of the decade. From 1721, however, the amount of money collected rose quickly, with the

---

[1] G. E. Mingay, 'The Agricultural Depression, 1730-1750', *Economic History Review,* 2nd series, viii (1956), pp. 323-38.

[2] G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963), pp. 54-6. J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880* (London, 1966), p. 41.

[3] These records were deposited in the East Riding Record Office, and moved from there to Hull University Library at the time of local government reorganization in 1974. They are classified under DDWA.

[4] A. Harris, 'The Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire before Parliamentary Enclosures', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xl, (1959-62), pp. 125, 127. See also A. Harris, *The Rural Landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (1961). Warter was not enclosed until the 1790s.

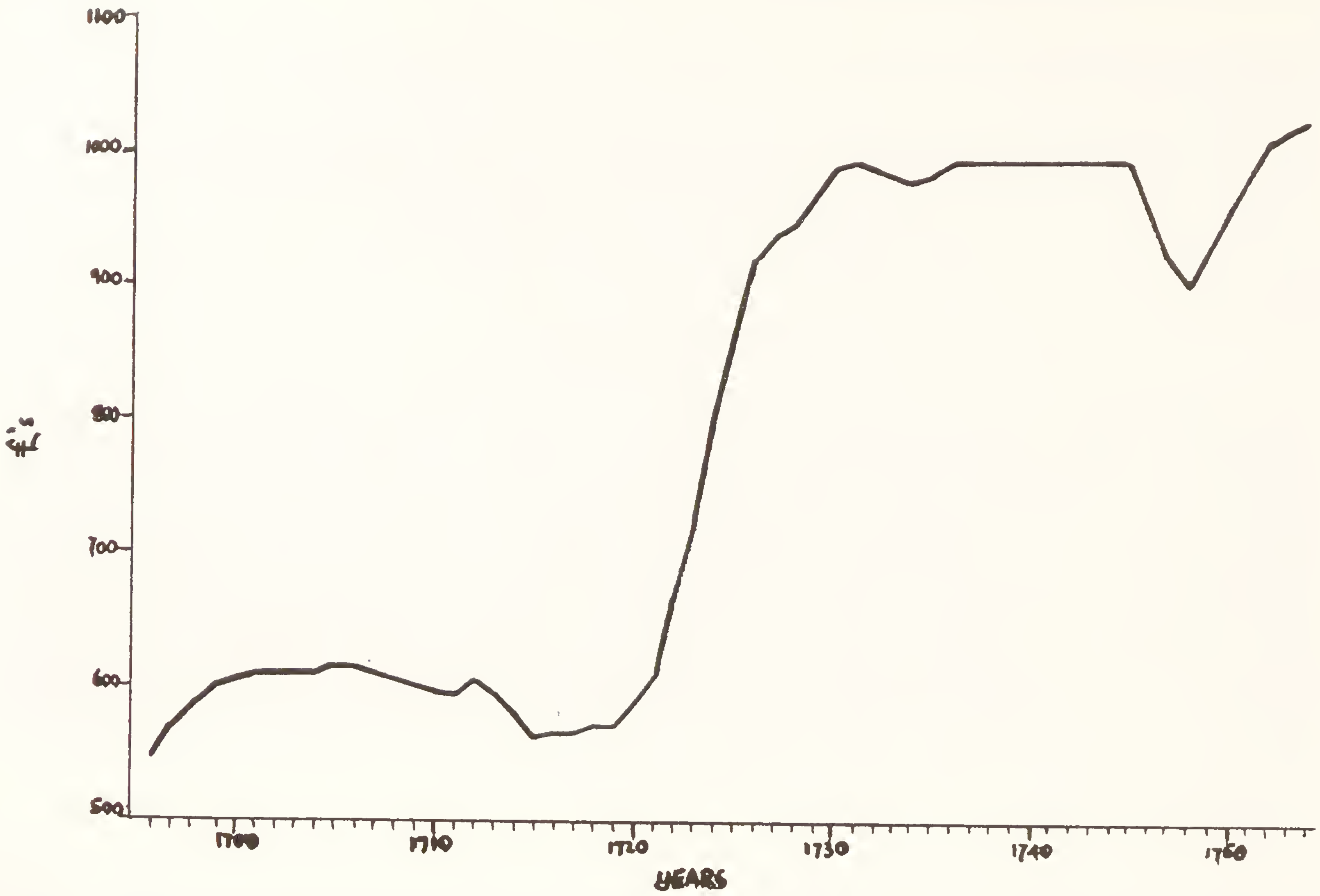


Fig. 1. Rental of the Warter estate 1696-1754 (3-year moving average). Source: Hull University Library, DDWA Accounts 10/1-24.

figure for 1730 being 64 per cent up on that of 1721. No single explanation can be advanced for this seemingly dramatic increase. An obvious possiblity is that the Penningtons pursued a vigorous land purchasing policy. A few small properties were acquired; Edward Harper, for example, was paid £155 for a freehold property in 1725,[5] but land purchases alone cannot explain the increase. A rise in the rents of individual farms helped, but the most significant factor was probably the decision taken in 1723 to lease out more land. With Sir Joseph's departure for London to assume his post in government, the home farm was reduced in size. Progressive farming continued: clover and trefoil were grown at least until arable farming was phased out in 1730. From then onwards Warter did not have a resident owner, although when Sir John Pennington inherited the estate in 1744 he again showed interest in the agricultural potential.[6]

II

The agricultural depression was the culmination of a long-term fall in the price of grain. Population growth, which had characterised Tudor and early Stuart England, came to a halt in the mid-seventeenth century, and overall numbers changed little in the hundred or so years thereafter. During the same period improved techniques raised the level of agricultural productivity, so that with demand static and supply rising a fall in the price of grain was inevitable. Exports partly offset the effect of decline, but only the renewed growth of population after 1750 rescued the farming community. The nadir was reached during the 1730s and 1740s when real corn product prices fell by more than 15 to 20 per cent relative to the price prevailing in the 1720s. Farmers in the corn counties undoubtedly suffered the most difficult conditions.[7] A fall in the price of foodstuffs will have released surplus income for expenditure on an improved diet: since meat and dairy products would have been among the first items purchased, farmers in the predominantly pastoral areas may have benefitted from their colleagues' misfortunes.

---

[5] DDWA/10/4.

[6] DDWA/10/2, 3, 6, 18, 24.

[7] R. A. Ippolito, 'The Effect of the "Agricultural Depression" on Industrial Demand in England, 1730-1750', *Economica*, 42 (1975), p. 298.

According to Mingay, three measurements can be used to determine whether or not an area was suffering from depression, and all concern the relationship between landlord and tenant. First, rents showed a slight tendency to fall. Second, heavy arrears of rent occurred, and third, landlords granted various concessions to their tenants. The latter could include the payment of repair bills and the resumption of the tax burden. 'It is the sudden appearance of heavy arrears of rent which justifies the view that the failure on rents to rise at this time is a sign of depression'.[8] To measure the extent of depression on the Warter estate these conditions must be examined.

The diagram on page shows the movement of rent on the Warter estate between 1696 and 1754. Rents reached a high point in 1706 only to fall back by about 9 per cent over the following nine years. They then recovered slowly to be almost back to the 1706 level by 1721. As such the pattern fits a well attested national trend in rents. Warter rents rose steeply in the 1720s to a peak of £1002 in 1731. Another slight fall followed, but from 1738 until 1746 (inclusive) the rental remained unchanged at £997. Despite the acquisition of a small estate in 1747 for £260,[9] the rental was 10 per cent down in 1748, which implies that reductions were taking place. This proved to be only a temporary setback, and recovery commenced in 1749. The £1000 barrier was broken for only the second time in 1752, and by 1755 the rental was 14 per cent above the level of 1748. Such a pattern is in line with Mingay's evidence that rents flattened out during the 1730s and 1740s, perhaps even falling in some instances.

The second criterion of depression is the build-up of rent arrears. Surviving Warter accounts do not record how much unpaid rent was outstanding at any particular time, but they show arrears collected. This 'category' was introduced into the accounts in 1733, and the figures between then and 1755 are given below.[10] The large sums of money involved, especially between 1738 and 1749 (when a sum equivalent to nearly one-third of the total rental came in late) suggests that tenants were having difficulty paying their rents, and were consequently postponing payment. By the early 1750s they had evidently caught up.

Year	*Arrears - £s*
1733	70
1734	259
1735	260
1736	162
1737	—
1738	196
1739	208
1740	481
1741-2	504
1743-4	421
1745	312
1746	222
1747	589
1748	244
1749	120
1750	25
1751	5
1752	5
1753	7
1754	15
1755	5

Other evidence supporting this interpretation of the figures is to be found in the letters of the Warter steward, John Dickinson, to Sir Joseph Pennington. He first complained that tenants were behind with their rent payments early in 1732, and by October that year isolated examples were becoming a general trend. Dickinson reported tenants' complaints that their rents were too high:[11]

---

[8] Mingay, 'Agricultural Depression', p. 325.

[9] DDWA/10/19.

[10] DDWA/10/1-24.

[11] DDWA/12/1, bundle A, John Dickinson to Sir Joseph Pennington, 2 Oct 1732.

> and a great many landlords had made abatements these hard times, and that they could not anyways pay their Rents unless the times mended. . . the country people have got such a Notion that the Prices of everything will be still lower, that they will scarcely take a farm except they can have it just at their own rates.

This was a clear indication of the link between low prices and falling rents, and conditions did not improve in a hurry. Towards the end of 1735 Dickinson despaired about rents:[12]

> as to the tenants at Warter I cant say, but that they are still full as backward in their payments as they was last year, money having come very slackly in this Christmas, they having had a tolerable crop of corn this year, and oats keeps up at a pretty good price.

Two years later Dickinson noticed a change:[13]

> And there seems a pretty good prospect of the times mending amongst the farmers in these parts as barley hath sold well all last winter and the demands for corn makes it very likely for keeping up the price, also the cattle in our spring fairs seem to sell a pretty deal better than usual of late which I hope will be some encouragement to them.

Even so, the worst was not yet over. As the diagram shows, the steward could not raise the rents; indeed, by the early 1740s he was under considerable pressure to reduce them.[14] Evidently he held out until arrears became so alarming that in 1747 he had to give way. Tenants simply could not pay on time, and only when depression came to an end in 1750 did the situation alter. Once rents came in when they were due, it was possible to begin raising them again.

Finally, what of the third criterion of depression, the assumption of duties and taxes by landowners in order to help out hard pressed tenants? The Warter evidence here is much less straightforward. It was customary for tenants to undertake running repairs to their porperty during the term of a lease, and no action seems to have been taken to alter the situation.[15] Evidence from the later 1740s of new enclosures being made in the manor of Warter can perhaps be taken to imply a determined effort on the part of the Penningtons to keep up the rents. A total of £74 was spent on this project between 1745 and 1749.[16] Taxation cannot be taken as a guide. Although it is generally assumed that only the southern counties of England paid the Land Tax – levied annually between 1693 and 1798 – in full,[17] the rate at Warter in 1695 was equivalent to 16 per cent of the gross rental (*viz.* 3s 2d in the pound on a four shilling rate). This was considerably higher than the rate paid by the Penningtons for their Cumberland estate. However, despite this the family made no attempt to pass the burden on to their tenants until 1774,[18] by which time the depression was long over, and in any case the tax was hitting landowners with far less severity.

III

Overall, the evidence from the Warter estate would seem to imply that the agricultural depression of 1730–50 had a significant impact. Rents, which had risen rapidly in the 1720s, levelled out in the 1730s and fell back towards the end of the 1740s. Only from about 1750 – the year normally considered to mark the end of depression – did they

---

12. Ibid to Ibid, 26 Dec 1735.
13. Ibid to Ibid, 20 May 1737.
14. Ibid to Ibid, 30 Dec 1742.
15. Ibid to Ibid, 17 Jan 1743.
16. DDWA/10/51.
17. *The Case of the Salt Duty and the Land Tax* (1732).
18. DDWA/14/10. Carlisle Record Office, D/Pen/109, bundles 16/7, 30/47.

recover, and start to move upwards again. At the same time tenants on the estate had considerable difficulty paying their rent during the 1730s and 1740s, as is clear from the evidence for late paid rent. Unfortunately, insufficient material survives regarding the relationship between landowner and tenants in these years from which to draw conclusions as to whether the Penningtons were having to help out their leaseholders. Warter, of course, was only one estate; but it was situated on claylands similar to those in the Midlands where the application of Mingay's criteria produced evidence of depression. As such, the estate provides a further example of how the grain producing areas were depressed during the 1730s and 1740s, but this is not to suggest that conditions were the same throughout Yorkshire. In those areas with different soil types, and on the higher ground where pastoral farming was predominant, the situation may have been very different.

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CENSUS: WETHERBY 1776

By Robert Unwin

Summary A local canvass of Wetherby is linked with other contemporary demographic and fiscal sources in order to reconstruct the economic and social structure of a small market town, and to analyse the patterns of literacy.

When a Bill proposing a national census was considered in the House of Commons in 1753, one of the York M.P.'s asserted that he was 'never more astonished and alarmed since I had the honour to sit in this House. . . for I did not believe that there had been any set of men. . . so presumptuous and so abandoned as to make the proposal.' Before 1801 all proposals to officially 'number the people' were defeated, while pamphleteers argued vociferously as to whether the population of Britain (or the world) had increased or fallen since ancient times. In the generation preceding Malthus's *Essay,* a growing number of philosophers and theologians were concerned about the population question, but the relationship of demography to other contemporary debates is often far from clear.

One manifestation of the interest in population trends was the local canvass, and it is now apparent that the number of enumerations prior to 1801 was much greater than was once thought, although they are rarely extant in their original form. Many of the listings were drawn up by men engaged in the professions: clergymen, as in Leeds (1771, 1775) and Wetherby (1776); physicians, as in Carlisle (1780); schoolmasters, as at Cardington (1782); or by the parish clerk, as in Kendal (1784, 1793).[1] Local censuses vary in reliability, but the fact that a canvass was taken suggests some degree of precision. One criteria for assessing the validity of historical evidence is to examine it in terms of its consistency; yet another is to consider the compatibility of the information it yields with what is known about the historical situation as revealed in other contemporary sources. Local enumerations raise a number of evidential questions. Why and when was the canvass taken; who made it; how was the population recorded; and in what ways could it have proved useful at the time?[2]

Local censuses may also be used as a basis for a variety of historical inquiries, especially when linked with other contemporary sources, but always with the proviso that the original motives for collecting the data are kept in mind. Modern historical demography is a 'problem-oriented' discipline, and comparative logic offers an approach for formulating areas of investigation. How did the social structure patterns revealed come to be; why did such patterns persist or change; what were the effects of the hierarchies of influence or deference on the development or stagnation of communities; how far were societies 'open' or 'closed'? The gathering of evidence to test hypotheses must be supplied partly by historical imagination to try to elucidate both the common elements of particular social structures and their distinctive and individual qualities.

---

1. C. J. Morgan, 'Demographic Change, 1771-1911', in D. Fraser (ed), *A History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester, 1980), pp. 46-71; W. A. Armstrong, 'The Trend of Mortality in Carlisle between the 1780s and the 1840s: A Demographic Contribution to the Standard of Living Debate', *Econ. Hist. Rev.,* 2nd ser. 34 (1981), pp. 94-114; D. Baker, *The Inhabitants of Cardington in 1782, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society* 52 (1973); J. D. Marshall, 'Kendal in the late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. & Arch. Soc.* N.S. 75 (1975), pp. 188-257.
2. The extant copy of the Wetherby census, which is in private hands, is recorded as 'An Account of the Population of Wetherby taken in the year 1776 by the Rev. Richard Kay, perpetual curate'. I am grateful to Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson for supplying a typescript of the canvass.

By collating the information in a canvass for Wetherby in 1776, land tax returns and poor rate assessments of the 1780s, commercial directories, newspapers and documents of title, it is possible to reconstruct the socio-economic structure of a small market town in the Vale of York. In this article an attempt is also made to analyse the patterns of literacy based on the use of contemporary parish registers. The local census thus provides a base for depicting a community in a variety of aspects, embracing economic, social, cultural and religio-political developments.

I

Today, Wetherby is perhaps best known for its race meetings, but for much of its history it was known as a small market town on the Great North Road equidistant between London and Edinburgh. The extant descriptions of topographers and travellers passing through the town in the eighteenth century - for example Dr. Richard Pococke and John Byng - contrasted the physical appearance of Wetherby unfavourably with other Vale of York towns, and with the rural scenery of lower Wharfedale.[3] A combination of circumstances - the 'great fire' of 1723, agrarian depression, and a prolonged cattle plague - seem to have adversely affected Wetherby and its environs in the early and middle decades of the eighteenth century.[4] Even when regional economic expansion occurred from the later 1760s, the limited financial resources of the town's residents precluded them as initiators of turnpike road development.

The bishops of the Church of England were interested in the size and distribution of population, since this obviously affected their administration. The diocesan visitation returns of 1743 and 1764 show an increase of more than 25 per cent in the number of families in Wetherby chapelry.[5] Providing such information was incumbent on parish clergy, although it was not usually expected that a comprehensive canvass would be taken. What prompted Richard Kay, the curate of Wetherby, to undertake such a census in 1776 is not clear. There is a possibility that the censuses of Leeds in 1771 and 1775, both taken to supply evidence in the controversy as to whether the population of the country was increasing or declining, prompted nearby Wetherby to embark on a similar exercise.[6] Population details relating to Leeds appeared in the local newspapers, and no doubt a number of local censuses were carried out partly in imitation.[7]

A local census may have been undertaken for motives that had little to do with population controversy. For example, a listing might provide a detailed reference as to who was normally resident in a township, so that would-be migrants and vagrants could be easily identified if re-settlement was deemed necessary. A canvass might also have been part of an inquiry into how much private and public provision was needed to maintain the poor of the parish and, more specifically, which families were most vulnerable to dependence on the rates.

It is important to consider whether other surveys were taking place at the time of a local census. For example, at Wetherby an investigation was made into the state of the curacy in 1775, when it was drawn by lot for augmentation by Queen Anne's Bounty; while in 1776 the inhabitants of the chapelry settled tithe payments with the rector of

---

[3] J. Cartwright (ed), *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke during 1750, 1751 and later Years*, *Camden Society* N.S. 42 (1888), p. 175; *The Torrington Diaries*, ed. C.B. Andrews (1936), 3, p. 38.

[4] Of some 70-80 properties in Wetherby, at least 40 were said to have been destroyed in the fire of 1723, the cost of the damage being estimated at £7,533 4*s* 11¾*d* 'and upwards'. West Yorkshire Record Office. Quarter Sessions Order Book.

[5] *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns*, 1743 (Ed. S. L. Ollard and P. C. Walker), *Y.A.S. Record Series* 75 (1929); Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns, 1764, 3, p. 50.

[6] F. Beckwith, 'The Population of Leeds during the Industrial Revolution', *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 41 (1954).

[7] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 July 1772.

1. *View from Castle Hill, Wetherby c. 1790.*
The artist (anon.) has depicted the quintessential features: the river and bridge; the coach travelling northwards on the Great North Road; the pack animal; the mill near the bridge. On the south side of the river Wharfe is the settlement of Micklethwaite, part of the parish of Collingham.

Spofforth. It may be that in making valuations of the curacy and chapelry it was felt expedient to 'number the people', although the extant correspondence of Richard Kay regarding these matters makes no reference to the census which is attributed to him. When the census was transcribed in the nineteenth century, the listing was apparently taken from a copy of the enumeration deposited at Somerset House.[8] There seems little reason to doubt that Richard Kay was closely - if not solely - involved in the canvass, possibly assisted by the chapel clerk and principal schoolmaster at Wetherby, Matthew Wood.[9]

By collating the information in the Wetherby census with the parish marriage, baptismal and burial registers it is possible to establish its timing to February 1776.[10] The canvass was taken house by house commencing in West Gate, and proceeding into Haws Lane, Back Street, Chapel Yard, the Market Place, the properties near the mill and bridge, then into High Street, East End, Horse Fair before concluding with properties north of the town near Lime Kiln House and in Swinnow (Map 1). In each instance, a record was made of the head of the household, name, occupation and age, followed by the names of his or her family, commencing with the spouse and children in descending chronological age. Where a family was extended, for example by the presence of in-laws, the relationship to the household head was recorded and full details were included of lodgers and servants. Numbered among the apprentices was an ancestor of Dr. Christopher Hill, former master of Balliol College and perhaps best known today as

---

[8] It has not been possible to trace this copy.

[9] In Leeds, the successor of Joseph Priestley at Mill Hill Chapel, Rev. William Wood was engaged in the enumeration. Was there any connection with Matthew Wood, the chapel clerk in Wetherby?

[10] Leeds City Library Archives Department. Spofforth Parish Records PR. 6, 41; and Wetherby census 1776.

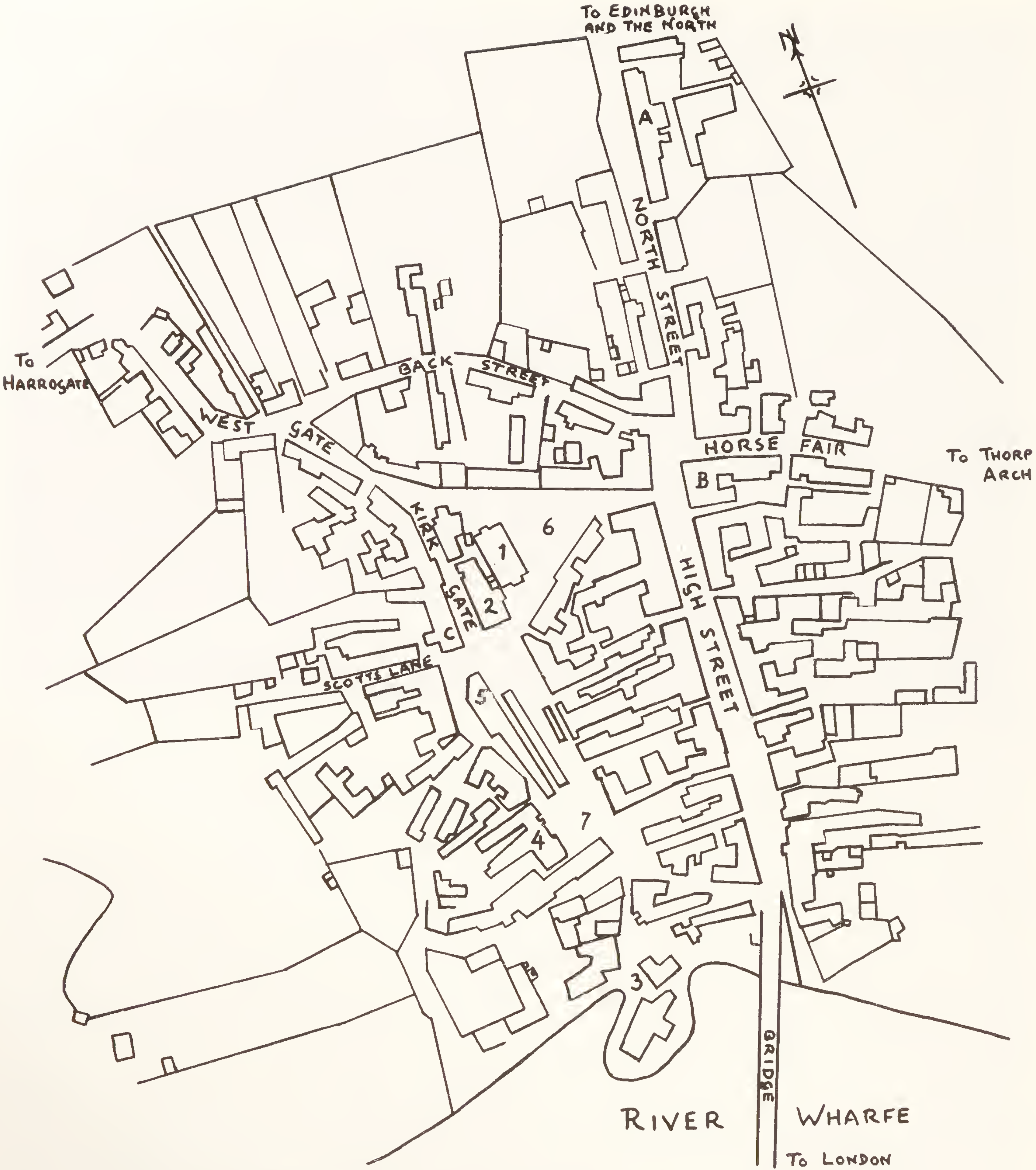


Fig. 1. Wetherby 1776. Map drawn by Tessa Unwin

1. Chapel of Ease
2. Town Hall/Court House
3. Corn and Rape Mills
4. Wetherby Brewery
5. Market sheds
6. Chapel Yard
7. Market Place

A The Swan and Talbot
B The Angel
C The Three Masons

author of *The World Turned Upside Down*.[11]

II

From information in local censuses it has been found that there were about 5 persons per house in large towns and 4.5 per house in small towns.[12] In 1776 the total population of Wetherby was 912, with an average household size of 4.18 persons (Table 1). Using the enumeration as a base and 'filling in' from parish registers, 1776-86, it is possible to collate demographic and fiscal returns - land tax and poor rate assessments - in order to analyse the socio-economic structure of the town (Table 2). Central to this exercise is the problem of identification, or 'nominal linkage', ensuring that an individual located in one document is the same person identified - after an appropriate interval - in another. By employing the techniques of content analysis, a questioning approach can be developed. What does the data reveal, what patterns can be established, which elements do not 'fit', what questions arise from the observation and analysis of the evidence, can hypotheses be suggested to explain the patterns and discrepancies revealed? Attempts can then be made to substantiate findings or to test hypotheses by using a wide range of other contemporary sources.

---

[11] West Yorkshire Record Office. Accessions 1978-79. Collection of deeds and papers received from Dr. Christopher Hill, relating to property formerly owned by the Hill family in Wetherby and York.

[12] In Leeds it was calculated that four and one-fifth persons might be reckoned to one family, but 'not quite' five persons to a house. *Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 July 1772.

What marked out the market town of Wetherby from its rural environs was its exchange function and varied roles, the relatively high proportion of innkeepers, secondary manufacturers, traders, craftsmen and professionals - together with a residual farming element - reflecting a social structure that was different from its essentially agrarian hinterland. However, at a time when many townsmen derived part of their income from farming activities, there may be dangers in drawing the differentiation lines too sharply.

The inns fulfilled many functions in the town, and the 1776 census included details of 15 innkeeper households (including two widow innkeepers), 13 of whom can be confirmed in contemporary calendars of alehouse recognizances. Nine of the inns were situated in the High Street along the Great North Road, three in the Market Place and the remainder in the area adjoining known as Chapel Yard. As a group, the innkeepers employed 37 servants living in (19 females, 18 males), of whom 25 were attached to the *Angel* and the *Swan and Talbot,* the two posting houses leased by William Butterfield and Christopher Parker respectively. In all, 35 of the living in servants were recorded with the High Street inns, together with two apprentices and one turnpike bar keeper. The average size of the innkeeper households was 6.5 persons.

Of the township's total land tax assessment in 1781, the innkeeper properties accounted for more than one quarter. As in the case of servants living in, a distinction can be made between the posting houses on the one hand and the lesser innkeeper holdings on the other. Between them the *Angel* and the *Swan and Talbot* and their associated land accounted for 56 per cent of the innkeepers' assessment. Abstracts of leases for the 1760s show that William Cotesworth, the tenant of the *Angel* at that time, leased 156 acres; while the tenant of the *Swan and Talbot* leased 171 acres.[13] With one exception, all the innkeepers' properties assessed for land tax were in the occupation of tenants of the Duke of Devonshire. In 1785 the 13 innkeepers were assessed for more than one third of Wetherby's poor rate, of which the two posting houses accounted for more than 58 per cent.[14]

Like the innkeepers, the postmaster in Wetherby was a tenant of the Duke of Devonshire, leasing 32 acres in the 1760s. In 1776 the postmaster, Joseph Rhodes, was living at the junction of the Great North Road and Barley Field Lane but had his office at the *Angel*. His household included six servants, possibly several of whom served as post boys. In both the land tax and the poor rate assessments, the postmaster's property accounted for about 2.5 per cent of the township's total.

Providing for the needs of many of the inns of Wetherby and its environs was the brewery in the Market Place. As a common brewer, John Rhodes brewed principally for sale to publicans and private customers away from his brewery. How widely his ale was distributed is not clear, although in 1776 he paid a composition of 10*s* per annum for using the York to Collingham turnpike roads with his horses and carts.[15] At the time of his marriage to the daughter of a Wetherby grocer in 1756, Rhodes was recorded as a husbandman from Weston and as witness to various property documents in the 1770s was described as a yeoman. In the abstracts of leases for the Devonshire estate in Wetherby he appears as a maltster and brewer, the tenant of 59 acres.[16] In 1776 Rhodes was listed as a widower living with five children and three servants, one of whom was later to become an innkeeper in the town. In addition to his tenant holding, Rhodes was assessed as an owner occupier - probably for the brewery itself. The combination of brewing, malting and farming activities was not uncommon at this time, and Rhodes seems to have had something of a reputation for animal breeding.[17] When Rhodes died in 1780 he was described as 'a considerable maltster at Wetherby'.[18]

---

[13] Chatsworth MS.L/108/11.

[14] By that time William Smith had succeeded William Butterfield as tenant at the *Angel*.

Apart from brewing, the only significant industries in Wetherby were the milling of corn and the crushing of rapeseed. In the 1760s John Cansfield was tenant of a rape mill, two warehouses, a water corn mill and 34 acres on the Devonshire estate. In 1776 his household included three servants and one apprentice. In 1781 the mills were leased by William Farrer and William Greenwood, families who were to have long associations with Wetherby.[19] Taken together, the properties of the secondary manufacturers - the brewery and the mills - were assessed for about 9 per cent of the township's land tax and for about 10.5 per cent of the poor rate assessment.

The 14 provision dealers recorded in the 1776 census - four butchers, six grocers (including one widow), one chandler and three bakers - were persons of some substance in Wetherby. Together, they employed nine servants and six apprentices living in, and the average size of their households was 5·5 persons. In 1781, 10 provision dealers' properties were together assessed at about 10 per cent of the township's land tax total; in 1785, nine provision dealers accounted for 11.61 per cent of the poor rate assessment. In the 1760s Samuel Powell, a butcher, was tenant of 17 acres on the Devonshire estate in Wetherby, more than any other provision dealer in the town. One of his apprentices, William Hill, was to become a leading butcher in Wetherby in the early nineteenth century. The leading grocer in 1776 was George Walker, whose household included one servant and one apprentice; in 1781 the property he leased was assessed for land tax at £2 6*s* 8*d*.

The non-provision dealers recorded in the 1776 census included one linen draper and a trader variously described as whitesmith, hardwareman, ironmonger, gunsmith and raff merchant. Niether household included servants or apprentices and both were tenants of the Duke of Devonshire. In 1781 the properties they rented were assessed at less than one per cent of the total land tax.

The 71 craftsmen - 12 tailors, nine shoemakers, eight joiners, seven weavers, six masons, six blacksmiths, five wheelwrights, three saddlers, two coopers, two glaziers, two barbers, and one each of the following: tanner, skinner, glover, staymaker, rope-maker, besom maker, collar maker, farrier, and - the only female 'craftsman' a mantua maker - employed a total of 18 apprentices and six servants, and the average size of these households was 4.4 persons. In 1781, only 22 of the properties leased by the craftsmen were assessed for land tax, representing about 10 per cent of the township's total; and a similar percentage appears for the poor rate assessment of 1785. Whereas assessments were made on one or more of the following crafts - saddlers, tanners, skinners, staymakers, ropemakers, besom makers, blacksmiths, glaziers, tailors, coopers, wheelwrights, carpenters, masons and barbers; no assessments were made on the properties occupied by the shoemakers, weavers, glover, patten maker, collar maker and mantua maker. Only one craftsman, Mark Pitts a tailor, was a freeholder, although two others - Matthew Malton a tanner and Daniel Wiggins a cooper - both held freehold property besides being tenants on the Devonshire estate. The remaining craftsmen were all tenants.

---

[15] West Yorkshire Record Office. York-Collingham Turnpike Trustees Minute Book 1771-1875. Entry for 4 Oct. 1776.

[16] Chatsworth MS.L/108/11.

[17] *Leeds Mercury*, 25 April 1769: '. . . a famous large fat Ox, that is allowed by all the Judges that have seen him to be the largest and fattest Ox of his Age in the Kingdom; he was bred by Mr. John Rhodes of Wetherby. . .' An earlier tenant at the *Angel*, William Cotesworth, derived part of his income from stud horses. *York Courant*, 19 Feb. 1754.

[18] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 4 July 1780.

[19] In 1777 the house of Thomas Greenwood in Wetherby (Mill House) was registered as a Dissenters' Meeting House. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. *Summary List of Certificates of Dissenters' Meeting Houses* (1968), p. 13. 1777 No. 215. Application 3 Oct., registration 4 Nov. 1777.

The eight professional families in 1776 - one attorney, three apothecaries or surgeons, one excise officer, two schoolmasters and the perpetual curate - employed a total of six servants, and the average household size of this group was 5.6 persons. In 1781, the properties of seven professional families were assessed for land tax, accounting for 11.22 per cent of the township total, although this includes £8 for the excise duty of the market. The figure of 4.38 per cent as the assessment of this group for poor rate in 1785 probably provides a more accurate picture of their relative socio-economic position in the township. Neither the schoolmasters nor the curate were assessed for land tax or poor rates, although Kay - unlike the two schoolmasters - did employ a living in servant. The principal attorney in Wetherby was George Newstead who, in addition to purely legal work, served as a clerk-surveyor and was involved in at least one local turnpike trust.[20] The growing social and economic activity of attorneys was symptomatic of the increasing complexity of society and of the need for men of business with legal knowledge.[21] By the mid-1780s a second firm of attorneys was active in Wetherby.

The 12 landholders or farmers/gardeners recorded in 1776 employed four apprentices and one servant living in, the average household size being 4.6 persons. In 1781 the property of 13 landholders was assessed at 17.01 per cent of Wetherby's land tax total and included land leased by three yeoman farmers who lived in the neighbouring townships of Kirk Deighton, Linton and Micklethwaite. The 51 labourers' households recorded in 1776 had neither servants nor apprentices living in, and the average household size was 3.75 persons. In 1781 five labourers were assessed for land tax, amounting to 2.15 per cent of the township's total; while in 1785 six labourers were assessed for 2.31 per cent of the poor rate for Wetherby.

Although the term 'widow' is indicative of status rather than of occupation, the 'widow households' recorded in the 1776 canvass were sufficiently distinct to warrant separate analysis. In only three instances was there any indication of the source of income, and in such instances the households have been included within the appropriate occupational categories. The remaining 28 widow households included two servants and no apprentices and the average household size was 2.4 persons. Lodgers were recorded in two of these households, and married children or grandchildren were noted in five instances. On the other hand, eight widows were shown living on their own. In 1781 only three widow households were assessed for land tax amounting in all to less than one per cent; while in 1785 three widows accounted for 1.18 per cent of the town's poor rates.

Although an analysis of a single township on the basis of linked demographic and fiscal sources cannot provide a complete picture, since the interests and property of the inhabitants of one community obviously spill over into other districts, a reconstruction may provide a framework for a comparative inquiry into the various socio-economic and religio-political groupings. Yet caution is necessary, for it may transpire that knowing what a person pays in tax is a long way from knowing his or her place in local society.

---

[20] George Newstead surveyor-clerk of York-Collingham road, 1776-1800. York-Collingham Turnpike Trustees Minute Book 1771-1875.

[21] See R. Robson, *The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1959).

III

Did certain groups, seen in terms of taxation propensity or capacity, constitute 'power' or 'social control' elements? In any attempt to establish the 'pecking order' it is essential to cut across occupational groupings. For example, one group which might be considered consisted of those who held freehold property, either with or without other property leased from the Duke of Devonshire or one of the other lesser resident or absentee owners. The 13 resident owner occupiers were assessed for only 1.63 per cent of Wetherby's land tax in 1781, although their tenant holdings - principally on the Devonshire estate - accounted for a further 8.59 per cent. This group consisted of one innkeeper, the town's brewer, two grocers, three farmers, three craftsmen (tanner, tailor, cooper), two widows, and one freeholder whose occupation was not recorded. However, the freeholders must be seen in context for, by 1781, the 75 tax-paying tenants of the absentee Duke of Devonshire accounted for more than 90 per cent of the land tax for Wetherby.

In looking at those residents who played an active role in the community, the 'town book' of the vestry can be used, for this parish or township 'parliament' deliberated upon a variety of ecclesiastical and civil matters. Normally, the vestry was concerned with the selection of overseers of the highways and of church or chapel wardens, who were *ex officio* overseers of the poor; and with the drawing up of short lists from which the J.P.'s selected constables. The legal position of the vestry was often obscure, and the right to take part in its meetings was denied in some areas to certain classes of residents although automatically assumed in others.

At Wetherby, the 31 residents who attended vestry meetings at various times in the 1770s and 1780s, and who were recorded in the 1776 census, were assessed for 61.96 per cent of the township's poor rates in 1785. A breakdown of occupational groups reveals the essential profile of a small market, coaching and posting town on the Great North Road: seven innkeepers, postmaster, brewer; two millers and three farmers; four provision dealers, eight craftsmen, woollen draper, gardener, attorney and curate. In only one instance was it not possible to trace the occupation. The residences of 22 of the 31 who regularly attended vestry meetings can be traced: of the leading 'Anglicans' in the town, eight lived in the High Street, six in the Market Place, four at North End and one each in Chapel Yard, Haws Lane, South End and West End. Not one of the group lived in West Gate, the poorest quarter of the town. As might be expected, the families represented in the vestry were often linked through marriage, and three groupings can be identified: Richard Kay the curate, George Newstead the attorney and Samuel Powell the butcher; Gregory Rhodes the brewer, George Walker and Francis Place grocers; and George Atkinson a farmer with the two millers, David Dalby and William Greenwood.

It is pertinent to consider other groups of residents who paid local rates and who might have been expected to attend the vestry meetings but who do not appear in the book of 'Town's Accounts'.[22] In addition to providing details of name, residence, occupation, age and relationship to the head of household, Kay added the letter 'm' against a number of names listed in 1776. In some instances these were household heads and spouses, but there is no consistent pattern about the marking - a head of household here, a spouse there sometimes one of the offspring of a family, occasionally an older relative or even a servant. Some of these residents were assessed for land tax and poor rates, others were not. How can the goup classified by Kay be explained?

In 1764, the rector of Spofforth informed Archbishop Drummond about the numbers

---

22. Leeds City Library Archives Department. Wetherby Parish Records PR.1.

of nonconformists in the parish. Within Wetherby chapelry there was one private house where the Methodists met, but, although many 'low people' attended the meetings on Sunday evenings, the rector assured the Archbishop that only about half a dozen people subscribed to the two 'teachers' from Leeds.[23] There seems little doubt that there were a number of dissenters in Wetherby, and in 1777 a meeting house was licensed. Then there is Kay's census. In a detailed canvass set out in such a consistent form, it is necessary to ask why the additional 'm' classification was adopted for such a variety of inhabitants? What had a 28-year old schoolmaster and his wife in common with a 49-year old tailor's wife and her 18-year old son; with a farmer and his wife both over 60; and with the wives of an apothecary, a labourer and a tanner. In some ways the presence of a schoolmaster in the group is a possible indicator that what they did have in common was their known allegiance to a particular religious persuasion. The other schoolmaster in Wetherby, Matthew Wood, was also clerk of the chapelry, often acted as witness for marriages in Spofforth parish, and was clearly a subscriber to the Church of England. The 'm' schoolmaster, Ephraim Sanderson does not appear in the vestry records, and it is probable that he served the small nonconformist group in Wetherby. That there was little prospect of his engaging full time in teaching is probably indicated by his being sometimes described as a shoemaker.[24]

If Kay had identified the principal Methodists in Wetherby, and it seems probable that he had, it is worth considering the group in a little more detail. In 1776 the average age of the 19 men classified 'm' was almost 42 years ranging between 18 and 72; the average age of the 28 women was 45 years ranging from 18 to 70. In terms of the occupation of household heads, the 28 families which included Methodist members - although not necessarily the head - consisted of 10 craftsmen, six labourers, four provision dealers, three widows, and one each of the following, farmer, linen draper, apothecary, schoolmaster and servant. As in other circuits, many of the early Methodists in Wetherby were artisans and small traders, but it is clear that the movement touched most sections of the community. In general, members of the 'vestry group' seem to have had a higher taxation capacity than the nonconformists: the 11 Methodists who can be traced as paying poor rates in 1785 accounted for only 6.96 per cent of the township's total. A number of the 'm' group contributed to the building of the first Wesleyan Methodist chapel in Wetherby in 1794.[25] Without some appreciation of the social foundations, the religious life of communities is largely unintelligible.

IV

Although the ability to write one's name in a parish marriage register is only, with qualification, an indication of literacy, signatures are the most reliable source for a statistical approach. The Marriage Act of 1753 included a clause to compel brides and grooms to sign their names in registers to be provided, or, if unable to sign, to make their mark. Only Jews and Quakers were excepted from the obligation to sign, and relief was not given to other sects until the passing of the 1836 Marriage Act. Yet there are considerable deficiencies in totting up individual signatures on the assumption that only those who could sign fell on the literate side. Thus the ability to write one's name may be no evidence of general writing skills, and it is not possible to gauge exactly the relationship between the ability to sign and the ability to read, which is an important area of inquiry for those who want to know how far the ordinary townsman or villager was open to external influences. Literacy is an imprecise concept, though it is often assumed that the capacity to write implies an ability to read at some level. Until the advent of universal education, there must have been many people who could read - if only indifferently - without being able to write at all. Often only those who needed to write for some purely practical reason learned to do so, and there seems to be a general impression that reading ability probably exceeded writing capacity.[26]

---

[23] The two Methodist 'teachers' were William Ghent, a barber, and Thomas Garforth. The rector of Spofforth noted that the Roman Catholics worshipped at Follifoot; and that the Middleton family of Stockeld had a priest in residence.

[24] Spofforth Parish Records PR.6. Ephraim Sanderson subsequently moved to Aberford where he opened a private academy. D. W. Sylvester, *Educational Documents 800-1816* (1970), pp. 252-53.

[25] Only one of the Methodists identified lived in West Gate, the poorest quarter of the town in which the workhouse was situated.

Studied in isolation, signatures or marks cannot take into account the family or household structure in which brides and bridegrooms grew up. Nor can they indicate the economic and social standing of spouses in the community. If possible, it may be rewarding to collate signatures with other contemporary demographic and fiscal sources to establish the incidence of occupational illiteracy, an exercise in which the marriage registers can be supplemented by using a variety of other sources including wills, documents of title, alehouse recognizances and vestry minutes.

Although a distinct chapelry, Wetherby was one of six townships that constituted the parish of Spofforth, and marriages were solemnized at the mother church. In some instances, occupations of males are not given in marriage registers (and female occupations are rarely, if ever, recorded), and difficulties may also arise from the nature of employment in the eighteenth century: many innkeepers, small manufacturers and tradesmen were also farmers or smallholders; while the distinction between a craft occupation and agriculture was not always sharply delineated.

The absence of the term 'victualler' or 'innkeeper' in the Spofforth marriage registers is striking, although few bridegrooms marrying for the first time were likely to be sole tenants or freeholders of inns. Even so, from the contemporary alehouse recognizances for the townships within the parish it is apparent that the innkeepers were a sizeable group, and in several instances they were marrying for a second time.[27] Those Wetherby innkeepers and their spouses who have been traced in the marriage registers - where they are recorded as 'yeoman' or 'farmer' - or in documents of title and township records suggest that, as a group, they were literate. Ten of the 15 innkeepers who have been traced all signed their names, while all the spouses identified - five - also signed. Among the innkeepers 13 were men, and the two widows seem to have found it expedient to re-marry. Dorothy Trewitt (or Triffit) was recorded in the 1776 census as an innkeeper and a widow. When, as Dorothy Kitching, she had married Christopher Triffit, a mason, in 1759 she had marked, although her husband and the principal witness - also a mason - both signed. Triffit, who was possibly the tenant of the *Three Masons* in the Market Place died in 1775; two years later the 39-year old widow married John Turley, formerly an employee in the town's brewery. On that occasion both bride and bridegroom signed, as did the principal witness William Powell, one of the leading butchers in Wetherby. The other female innkeeper recorded in the 1776 census, Isabel Briscoe, also re-married, on which occasion the bride and witness (another member of the Powell family) signed the register whereas the bridgroom, a local farmer, marked.

In the quarter century following the 1776 census, a number of the children of the innkeeper households appeared in the Spofforth marriage registers, and there is no record of any of the male children making marks. Seven of the innkeepers' daughters appeared in the registers, of whom four signed, as did their husbands: gentleman, farmer, joiner, draper. The households in which these 'literate' daughters grew up were all liable to land tax and were substantial employers of living in servants. Three of the innkeepers' daughters subsequently marked, but in two instances their spouses - a

---

26. For a discussion of the problems of signatures and literacy *see* J. Lawson and H. Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (1973), p. 192; M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 181.
27. West Yorkshire Record Office. Alehouse Recognizances.

saddler and a gardener - signed. In only one instance did both parties mark, the bridgegroom being a labourer's son. Without exception, all the witnesses at the marriages of the innkeepers or their children signed, including other innkeepers, provision dealers, a corn miller and a joiner. Of the 37 servants and two apprentices living in the innkeeper households in 1776, 21 appeared in the marriage registers in the following twenty-five years. Of these, nine of the male servants signed and four made marks; three of the female servants signed and four made marks; and one apprentice marked.

If signatures are taken as an indication of literacy, then Joseph Rhodes the Wetherby postmaster was literate. So too were the Rhodes family of brewers. When John Rhodes and Helen Oates were married in 1756 both they and the attending witnesses signed. Their eldest son Gregory succeeded to the brewery in 1780 at the age of 20. In 1803 he married the daughter of a leading Wetherby grocer when both parties signed as did the principal witness, another of the town's grocers. The youngest son of John Rhodes married the eldest surviving daughter of another Wetherby grocer in 1788 when all the parties signed; while the signature of his second son, Quintin, appears in contemporary turnpike records.[28] John Rhodes's eldest daughter married a Wetherby surgeon in 1786 when all the parties signed; as they did when his second daughter married a Tadcaster miller in 1791.[29]

To some extent, though to a lesser degree than in earlier centuries, literacy still marked off the wealthy townsmen and professional classes. The provision dealers provide mostly examples of 'literate' families. Only five of the spouses of the nine signing heads of households traced have been found: of these two signed and three marked, but in the latter instances two had husbands who were not liable for land tax, and the third was in a grocer/linen draper partnership which paid only 2*s* 8*d* in land tax. The four sons and six daughters of the provision dealers who can subsequently be traced were all literate, as were both the non provision dealers recorded in 1776. Yet of all the occupational groups, the professions - not surprisingly - stand out as the most 'literate'. Six heads of households, five spouses, four sons and four daughters all signed the marriage registers, or other contemporary records. In summary, a number of groups - including spouses and children - revealed little or no incidence of illiteracy: the victuallers, postmaster, brewers, millers, traders, and professions could be identified as 'literate families', who were often connected by marriage.

The landholders or farmers provide less consistency in terms of marriage and literacy patterns. Of the nine household heads who appear in the marriage registers, seven recorded their signatures and only one of their spouses marked. On the other hand, both the brides of the farmers who marked were illiterate. All the male children of the farmers who were subsequently recorded in the marriage registers signed; four of the five daughters signed as did the bridegroom of the female who marked.

The ability to write may have had less relevance for the agricultural worker and the artisan and, as might be expected, the most striking instances of 'family illiteracy' occurred among the craftsmen and labourers. With such a small sample of craftsmen, it is difficult to generalise, but the poorest craftsmen - and those in whom illiteracy appears most marked - were the shoemakers, weavers and tailors. For the most part, the bridegrooms of the craftsmen's daughters were in similar occupational groupings. It is possible to trace 29 of the 51 labourers who were recorded as heads of households in 1776: of these, 11 signed the marriage register and 18 made marks. Whereas five of the 11 spouses of the signing labourers marked, 15 of the 18 who marked, were illiterate. Three of the sons of the household heads in 1776 subsequently signed the Spofforth marriage registers - either as bridegrooms or witnesses - and five made marks. Three of the labourers' daughters subsequently made marks, and one signed. Examples of family illiteracy were most prevalent in this group: a not untypical instance was the Eccles (or Heckles) family. In 1776 Robert Eccles was living with his wife and three children in Back Street. When he had married Helen Ingle in 1759 both he and his bride marked the register; and when each of their children married they also marked, as did their spouses.

---

[28] West Yorkshire Record Office. Wetherby-Knaresborough Turnpike Trustees Minute Book.

[29] Spofforth Parish Records PR. 41.

The ability to write can also be related to the socio-economic and socio-religious groups identified within the town. In the main, it seems that the freeholders were 'literate' families, and the children of those freeholders who can be traced - five sons and five daughters - all signed the marriage registers. In terms of signatures at vestry meetings, the 31 townsmen who regularly attended were literate. So too were their families: of the 13 spouses traced, 12 signed; all 12 sons signed; 14 daughters signed and two - from the same family - marked; and all witnesses at the marriages of these families signed. Of the Methodists who can be traced, eight males signed and one, a labourer, marked; of the females, six signed and five made marks.

There are pitfalls in studying one community in isolation, and the study of the market town must be set within the context of a total analysis of what was, in essence, a rural parish. Contacts between small towns and their hinterlands were often very close, and they were often interlaced economically and socially. Smaller towns, growing slowly, relied largely for their increments of population on local mobility, while hinterlands were to some extent dependent upon local marketing centres for their economic stimuli. How far did the literacy patterns observed in Wetherby correspond with those of Spofforth parish as a whole?

Fortunately, male occupations were included in the Spofforth marriage registers between April 1754 and December 1780 (Table 3), and it seems that there was a discernable relationship between occupations and literacy levels. All the 'professional' bridegrooms who were married at Spofforth were literate and all their brides and attending witnesses also signed. Of the total, seven of the bridegrooms resided in Wetherby (the remaining bridegroom was a clergyman from Hedon), namely, two apothecaries, two excise officers, an attorney, a land surveyor and a schoolmaster. Over 90 per cent of the provision dealers signed and two-thirds of their brides were also literate: among this group the two grocers both came from Wetherby. The three non-provision dealers - one tobacconist and two linen drapers - also came from Wetherby and all signed, although one of the brides 'marked'. Over 80 per cent of the farmers were literate, while 75 per cent of their brides signed. About 75 per cent of the 121 craftsmen signed, but only 50 per cent of the brides of this group were literate. Of the 167 marriages where the bridegrooms were recorded as labourers or husbandmen about 53 per cent were literate, but only 36 per cent of their brides signed. However, although about 53 per cent of the brides of labourers who signed were also literate, only 16 per cent of the brides of labourers who marked were literate. Certain features which are well known - or at least suspected - are borne out in the case of Spofforth parish, for example the relationship between literacy and wealth or social status.

V

What conclusions can be drawn from a detailed reconstruction of a small market town in the later eighteenth century? Not unexpectedly, a number of occupational groups can be identified, among which certain groups - seen in terms of taxation capacity - were more likely to constitute 'power' or 'social control' bases. These include the principal innkeepers, brewers, millers, provision dealers, professions and landholders, although there are dangers in generalisations for examples of tax payers occurred in all groups. In all, about 39 per cent of the households in Wetherby were liable to poor rates; about 36 per cent were subject to land tax.

Class conflict in small towns often took the sublimated form of dissent from the Church, but the embryonic social structure of the seventeenth century, whose alternative 'cores' lay in land or artisan activity, was only transformed very slowly into 'classes'. The Vale of York was a region largely untouched by the more radical forces and its market towns, of which Wetherby was one, were characterised as much by tradition as transition and social changes occurred much more slowly than in the industrial communities of west and south Yorkshire. It is doubtful whether the economic and social groups which can be identified in Wetherby at the time of the 1776 census should be considered as 'classes', although the 'alternative establishments' of Church and nonconformity are discernable. In terms of the Anglican and Methodist groups, the former - exercising some authority through the vestry - seems to have been composed of taxation and occupational representatives of somewhat higher social standing than the latter.

The analysis of marriage marks and signatures can also be related to other studies for, in the mid-eighteenth century, a number of towns still retained their superiority over the countryside, in terms of literacy, which they had enjoyed in the seventeenth century.[30] In the case of Wetherby-Spofforth, the rise in the percentage of signatures accords with similar upward trends in a number of towns in the eighteenth century, for example Ludlow, Plymstock, Gainsborough, Grantham, Lincoln, Louth, Sleaford, Deeping and Penzance. However, there are dangers in making broad generalisations, for examples can also be found of falling literacy levels.[31] The varied experience of the towns was paralleled to some extent in rural parishes. For example, a sample study of 17 rural parishes in the East Riding suggested that considerably more men than women were literate - the average in all parishes together from 1754-60 was 64 per cent for men and 39 per cent for women, an average of 51 per cent for both sexes. Taking men and women together, literacy seems to have varied greatly from village to village, from 72 per cent in one to 30 per cent in another.[32] Within any region, literacy rates could vary widely - even between one township and its neighbour - and disparities can only be explained by studying not merely the economic function and social structures of communities, but also geographical factors, educational provision and cultural and religious patterns.

---

[30] L. Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900', *Past and Present* 42 (1968).

[31] W. B. Stephens, 'Illiteracy and Schooling in the Provincial Towns, 1640-1870: A Comparative Approach', in D. A. Reeder (ed), *Urban Education in the Nineteenth Century* (1977), p. 30.

[32] W. P. Baker, *Parish Registers and Illiteracy in East Yorkshire, East Yorkshire Local History Series* 13 (1961), p. 6.

Table 1 Wetherby in 1776: Household Structure

Household Heads	*No. in Group*		*Spouses*		*Servants*		*Appren-tices*		*Children*		*Lodgers*		*Other Relatives*		*Total Household*
	M.	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	
Innkeepers (a)	*13*	*2*		*11*	*18*	*19*	*2*		*13*	*15*			*2*	*3*	*98*
Postmaster (b)	*1*				*5*	*1*								*1*	*8*
Brewers/Millers	*2*				*4*	*2*	*1*		*3*	*2*				*1*	*15*
Provision Dealers	*12*	*1*		*12*	*1*	*8*	*6*		*11*	*13*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*2*	*72*
Non-Provision Dealers	*2*			*2*						*3*					*7*
Craftsmen (c)	*70*	*1*		*58*	*2*	*4*	*16*	*2*	*61*	*73*	*4*	*2*	*6*	*12*	*311*
Professions	*8*			*7*	*2*	*4*			*15*	*8*			*1*		*45*
Farmers/ Landholders	*12*			*10*		*1*	*2*	*2*	*17*	*10*	*1*		*1*		*56*
Labourers	*51*			*49*					*43*	*43*				*5*	*191*
Widows (d)		*28*				*2*			*5*	*24*	*1*	*1*	*3*	*4*	*68*
Servants	*1*			*1*						*1*					*3*
Barkeeper (Turnpike Road)	*1*			*1*						*1*				*1*	*4*
No stated occupation	*9*	*4*		*7*		*3*			*2*	*3*	*1*		*1*	*4*	*34*
	182	**36**		**158**	**32**	**44**	**27**	**4**	**170**	**196**	**8**	**5**	**17**	**33**	**912**

Total (M)-Males - 436. (F)-Females - 476.

Notes:-

(a) Both female innkeepers were widows. The high proportion of male servants in the innkeeper households is probably accounted for by the demands of stabling.

(b) Of 5 male servants a number were almost certainly postboys.

(c) The male craftsman included a master tailor in the workhouse. Female craft activity - mantua maker. Female apprentices to a ropemaker and a weaver.

(d) Households in this category included 8 elderly widows living alone and the much higher proportion of female children at home may be noted.

Table 2 Wetherby in 1781, 1785: Households and Land Tax/Poor Rate Incidence

Households	No. in Group 1781	% of Total Land Tax 1781	No. in Group 1785	% of Poor Rate Assessment 1785
Victuallers	13	27.35	13	33.72
Landholders/Farmers	13	17.01	13	11.35
Provision Dealers	10	9.59	9	11.61
Professions	7	11.22	5	4.38
Craftsmen	22	9.77	23	10.81
Labourers	5	2.15	6	2.31
Widows	3	0.87	3	1.18
Non-Provision Dealers	2	0.67	2	0.71
Postmaster	1	2.57	1	2.72
Millers	2	7.59	2	8.15
Brewers	1	1.89	1	2.37
No stated occupation	6	1.89	8	2.99
Tithe		7.36		7.70
	85	**99.93**	**86**	**100.00**

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CENSUS: WETHERBY 1776

Table 3 Parish of Spofforth: Occupations and Literacy 1754-80

	Bridegrooms		Brides of Grooms who marked		Bride-grooms	Brides of Grooms who signed	
Occupation	No. of Marks	% of Group	No. of Marks	%	No. who signed	No. of Marks	%
Professions	0	0	0	0	8	0	0
Non-Provision Dealers	0	0	0	0	3	1	33.33
Provision Dealers	1	8.33	1	100	11	3	27.27
Yeomen/Farmers	3	18.75	1	33.33	13	3	23.07
Craftsmen	31	25.61	27	87.09	90	33	36.66
Labourers	79	47.30	66	83.54	88	41	46.59
No stated occupation	31	42.46	23	74.19	42	14	33.33

The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol. 54, 1982

SOME NOTES ON THE SIZE OF FIELDS AFTER ENCLOSURE

By W. HARWOOD LONG

The interest which agrarian historians have taken in the lay out of the countryside when the land was in open fields has seldom survived the Enclosure Movement, and between then and now more attention has been paid to the people that inhabited it than to this aspect of the land itself. This is not surprising for the effect on rural society of such an unprecedented eruption on its way of life provided a study too absorbing to be neglected, and other subjects have suffered in consequence. Nevertheless, it is disappointing that so little has been done to reconstruct the maps that the enclosures obliterated when the material for doing so is not wanting. The object of these notes is to fill the lacuna, or, rather, to indicate how it may be filled, by analysing the material contained in a survey made in 1818 on an estate situated on the borders of what were historically the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire.[1]

In 1818 Mr. Ware, a land agent, produced "an account of the state and condition of the several farms at Buttercrambe, Scrayingham, and Skirpenbeck" on the estate of Henry Darley, Esq., of Aldby Park, near Stamford Bridge. The survey was in the form of a list, by name, of the individual fields on each farm of the estate. It enumerated the size of all the fields in acres, roods, and perches,[2] and their state of cultivation, i.e. arable, pasture, or meadow, which is presumably the interpretation Mr. Ware intended to be understood by the letters "A", "P", or "M" against each field. A possible ambiguity occurs, however, in construing the meaning of "seeds", which crops up occasionally. This term may refer to clover or grass seeds sown in an arable rotation, or to seeds used in laying arable land down to permanent grass. The reference to "seeds" in (usually only) one field on most of the farms suggests that seeds were used as a break crop in the arable rotation (though, if so, why mention it specifically?). But fairly frequent marginal references in the survey pages to a high proportion of grass as a sign of good management, and to the length of time (up to 16 years) since some fields had been put down to grass, suggest that arable crops may have been giving way to grass at this period when the effects of the fall in prices after the Napoleonic Wars were beginning to be felt. But in default of a firm indication of its meaning, "seeds" has been assumed to refer to arable land, as it certainly did up to 1818.

Particulars of the date (or dates) when the farms on the estate were enclosed, and the circumstances that led to enclosure, are scanty but in Skirpenbeck 99 oxgangs (1,980 acres) were enclosed in 1758.[3] Thus there had already been 60 years for the effects of enclosure to be felt in this parish by 1818: probably much the same was true of Buttercrambe and Scrayingham, for Buttercrambe had been in the possession of the

---

1. This article is based on an analysis of records done more than ten years ago by Miss Jean Radford. While taking this opportunity to express at long last my gratitude to Miss Radford for her dedication, I wish to make it clear that any errors, mathematical or otherwise, that may come to light when it is too late to correct them are entirely my responsibility.
2. It takes nearly 2½ acres to equal a hectare, and 4 roods (160 sq. rods, poles, or perches) to equal an acre. Put another way, an acre is roughly equivalent in size to a football pitch, and equals a rectangle composed of 10 cricket pitches long by one pitch wide.
3. G. Slater, *English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields,* Constable 1907, p. 310.

Darley family since the middle of the sixteenth century, and as Scrayingham lies between Buttercrambe and Skirpenbeck it is reasonable to assume, in default of specific information, that both were enclosed at about the same time as Skirpenbeck.

This article studies the relative importance of fields of different sizes on the estate in 1818, (Tables 1-4), and it compares them with similar data for 1939 which are in the possession of the estate, (Tables 5-7), and those of another Yorkshire estate for 1836, (Tables 8-10).

But first it is advisable to consider some of the problems that confront any attempt to study the size of farms and fields in this context. Mr. Ware's survey includes all the tenanted property on the estate, down to cottages without any land, and other holdings too small to be regarded as farms. It is considered that for the present purpose a farm may be defined as a tenancy of not less than 10 acres. Table 1 shows that there were 35 such farms on the Darley estate in 1818, 33 of them fairly evenly distributed in size between 10 and 200 acres, and two slightly larger. The average size was 104 acres, but less than 25 per cent of the land was in farms of under 100 acres.

The average size of the fields on the farms over 150 acres was half as great again as on those of less than 50 acres, but the average size of the fields on the farms of between 50 and 150 acres (half the total number) was very close to the average of the whole sample. There was evidently a relationship between farm size and field size.

The Scrayingham Open Pastures.

Table 1 includes the estimated acreage represented by the grazing rights that all the larger and several smaller farms in Scrayingham possessed in the open pastures of that village. In the 1818 survey each pasture (or cattle) gate was given an acreage equivalent and the enclosed acreage of the farm was augmented by this amount. Altogether there were 24 entries of gates on 13 farms of over 10 acres: 13 were for grazing in the "Town's Pature" and 11 in the "Oxclose, Evers, and Kirkgate". Most of these farms had grazing rights in both. (There was also a small estimated acreage in the "Town's Thackers", all of it meadow land, but it was so small that it has been ignored in this study).

The acreage equivalent in the "Town's Pasture" was 1.9 acres per pasture (or cattle) gate throughout, but in the "Oxclose, Evers, and Kirkgate" the value varied from 1.2 to 1.5 acres per gate on all except one farm which had three gates valued at 7 ac. 1r. 15 p., i.e. 2.4 acres per gate. Altogether the pasture gates, except those in the "Town's Thackers", were assessed at an average of about 11½ acres per entry, with a range of from 1ac. 1r. 35p. to 22ac. 0r.5p. Twelve were under 5 acres, six between 5 and 9¾ac., five between 10 and 14¾ac., six between 15 and 19¾ac., and one over 20ac. For some purposes it may not be considered realistic to include these rights, estimated at a total of 275 acres by the surveyor, in the farms' acreages. If they are deducted from the farms on which they occur, only 16 of the 35 holdings exceed 100 acres, and the average size becomes 96 acres.

It is less easy to define a field than a farm satisfactorily. The survey shows that 360 fields fall into the category of areas of land growing not more than one crop at any given time and separated from other areas by a fence or hedge. But there was also a sizeable number of enclosures, about one third of the total, which were divided for cropping purposes into two or more sections. In this article the definition of "field" has sometimes been based, not on the physical boundary, but on the cropping unit: whenever it is to be interpreted in this way, "field" appears in "inverted commas". The tables which provide information on arable and grass fields separately all relate to the smaller sample.

"Fields" covering 1127 acres (about one third of the total farm land), have notes against them to show that they were, until shortly before the survey was made, parts of a larger field, or that they represent the amalgamation of two or more fields. There was little to suggest that this process was leading to an increase in the average size of the fields at the time. Indeed, while 127 entries showed that smaller "fields" were amalgamating, 141 others showed that previous units had recently been divided. A further feature is that in one village, Buttercrambe, 26 fields, covering 191 acres, were described as "moor closes". It seems reasonable to interpret this to indicate that they had been reclaimed from the moor, probably fairly recently. Conditions were by no means static in 1818, though there was little to suggest that the size of fields was following a secular trend in either direction.

On the reduced sample of 360 fields it was possible to distinguish whether they were arable or grass. The grass fields outnumbered the arable in the proportion of 3 to 2, but they were mainly the smaller fields, (Table 2). Of fields less than 5 acres, the numbers under grass were four times as great as those under the plough. But in all the groups of fields over 10 acres there were more arable than grass fields, and the total arable acreage was rather larger than the total grass acreage, (Table 3).

The mean size of the arable fields was 8 acres, and of the grass fields, 5 acres. If the Scrayingham open pastures "acreage" is deducted from the total acreage shown in Table 1, and its hypothetical "fields" are deducted from the total number of "fields", the average size of "field" of the whole group becomes 6½ acres. This is near enough to the average acreage of the 360 fields to suggest that the sample is reasonably representative of the total, at any rate in this factor.

Table 2 shows that 58 per cent of the grass fields were less than 5 acres in size, whereas only 21½ per cent of the arable fields came into this size group. Moreover, 17½ per cent of the grass fields were under 2 acres, compared with only 3½ per cent of the arable fields. It may be questioned whether such small enclosures made any significant contribution to the grazing of a holding, or whether they were little more than waste land around the farm buildings. They occurred, however, on every farm, and were noted as pasture in the survey. There seems insufficient reason, therefore, not to regard them as fields as much as the larger enclosures. Nevertheless, their importance in numbers may be disproportionate to their significance in the estate, and Table 4 has been constructed to give the same information as Table 2 in percentages, but with the fields of less than 2 acres omitted. This revision makes only a small difference to the arable fields column in the table, but the proportion of grass fields under 5 acres drops from nearly three-fifths of the total to just under one half, with consequential increases in the other size groups. . The greatest number of arable and grass fields combined is now in the 5-9¾ acre group, with 43 per cent of the total almost exactly the same as the under 5 acre group in Table 2. (It will be noted, however, that the 5-9¾ acre group covers a wider size range than the 2-4¾ acre group).

The distribution of the fields according to the amount of land they occupy does something to cut the importance of the small fields down to size, (Table 3). Fields of under 5 acres occupied less than one fifth of the total land, and well under one third of the grass land. More than two fifths of the grass was in fields of 5-9¾ acres, and less than one third was in fields of more than 10 acres, compared with nearly half the arable acreage. It is often considered that fields of 10 acres are sufficiently large for grazing purposes, and, indeed, larger pasture fields are at some disadvantage. As it is doubtful if the advantages of scale would have been enjoyed by arable fields in the days before cultivations could be performed other than by horse labour there is nothing in the table to suggest that significant economies would at that time have followed an increase in the size of these fields. Nevertheless, the survey contains evidence that field sizes were not static at the time it was made.

General condition of the farms in 1818

Mr. Ware's marginal notes in the pages of the survey help to fill in with some detail the picture of the farms and "fields" on the estate in 1818.

Most grass fields were described as "old sward", often "springy", "wet" or "rather wet", and sometimes "coarse": many needed draining. Several had been put down to grass during the previous twenty years. In the surveyor's opinion, the management of some of the farms would have been improved if the proportion of land under grass had been greater.

Only one farm was recommended as suitable for "the turnip system" of husbandry. This is an interesting comment in the light of the introduction of other root crops, particularly potatoes and sugar beet, on many of the same farms within the period 1908-1939, for which information is also available.

Many farms are described as in poor condition, often with too much arable and too little grass, but, apart from draining on some of them, few specific suggestions are made for improving them.

Some hedgerow timber is mentioned, usually ash or oak, but few references are made to the hedges themselves. Frequently the condition of the fences is commented on, generally adversely.

Notes on the farmhouses and buildings suggest that the best were constructed of good brick, with tiled roofs. Some consisted of old brick and thatch, and a few of stone. The condition of stables, cowhouses, and barns was sometimes individually mentioned, and, very occasionally, granaries and pigeon-cotes. One tenant proposed to rebuild his present wooden cowhouse with bricks.

These notes suggest, although they do not state specifically, that the maintenance of, and improvements to, land, buildings, and farmhouse were the tenants' responsibility.

1818-1939

Information on the sizes of the fields in the three parishes is available for 1939, and is suitable for comparing with some of the 1818 data, (Tables 5, 6 and 7). There had been an increase of 80 acres in the total farm land on the estate over the period, but this difference, about 2 per cent, is scarcely significant. (The hypothetical acreage in the Scrayingham open pasture is excluded from these totals). The total number of "fields" fell by 26 per cent, from 521 to 386. The fall occurred chiefly in the "fields" under 5 acres in size: they represented only 22½ per cent of the total number in 1939 against 42½ per cent in 1818. Some reduction in the numbers of "fields" between 5 and 9¾ acres also occurred, though relatively this group increased its numbers. The main increase took place in the 10-14¾ acre group, which more than doubled its proportion. There was no significant change in numbers in the 15-19¾ acre group, but the number of "fields" of 20 acres and more nearly doubled.

About two thirds of the land was in "fields" of 5-14¾ acres in both years, (Table 6), but while the 5-9¾ acre group fell from 43 per cent to 34½ per cent over the period, the 10-14¾ acre group increased from 23 to 36 per cent, and the percentage of land in fields of more than 19¾ acres nearly doubled. Table 7 shows that on the reduced sample for which information is available on arable and grass fields separately, both tended to increase in size. Evidently the advantages of amalgamating the smallest "fields" into larger units were recognised by 1939. It is possible that the process spread to the 5-9¾ acre group too.

The Darley and Ribston Estates compared

Similar information to that of Darley is also available for the Ribston Estate for 1836, (Table 8).[4] The number of farms on the two estates, and their average size, were very similar, but the proportion of arable land at Ribston was greater than at Darley.

Comparisons of arable and grass acreages and percentages have to be made on the reduced sample of 360 fields at Darley. On both estates the average size of the arable fields was greater than the grass fields, but the difference at Ribston was less marked than at Darley. In fact, although the average size of the Ribston fields exceeded the Darley fields by two thirds of an acre, the difference was mainly due to the higher proportion of grass fields under 5 acres on the Darley estate and to a greater proportion of large grass fields at Ribston, (Table 9). The proportion of arable land in the larger fields was considerably greater at Darley than at Ribston, (Table 10). There is, however, enough general agreement in the data from the two estates to suggest that the conclusions that can be drawn from them would probably be replicated if the analysis could be extended to cover a wider sample, and although there are many difficulties to be overcome in arriving at satisfactory methods of working, the results of this study encourage the hope that further work wll be undertaken and justified by the addition it can bring to knowledge on the sizes of fields in post-enclosure period.

---

[4] Ribston Hall lies between Wetherby and Knaresborough: the estate straddles the Great North Road almost immediately north of Wetherby.

TABLE 1. Size of Farm and "Fields", Darley Estate, 1818

Size range	No. of farms	Acreage	No. of "Fields"	Av. size of farms ac.	Av. size of "fields" ac.	Acreage per cent.
10— 49¾ ac.	9	312	61	35	5	8½
50— 99¾ ac.	7	536	83	76	6½	15
100—149¾ ac.	10	1245	191	124	6½	34
150—199¾ ac.	7	1117	146	160	7½	30½
over 199¾ac.	2	430	55	215	7¾	12
	35	3640	536	104	6¾	100

TABLE 2. Number of Fields in size groups on 35 Farms, Darley Estate, 1818

	Number of fields in range			Percentage of fields in range		
	Arable	Grass	Total	Arable	Grass	Total
Range	no.	no.	no.	per cent	per cent	per cent
under 2 ac.	5	38	43	3½	17½	12
2—4¾ ac.	26	88	114	18	40½	32
under 5 ac.	31	126	157	21½	58	44
5— 9¾	72	65	137	50	30	38
10—14¾ ac.	27	20	47	19	9	13
15—19¾ ac.	11	5	16	7½	2½	4
over 19¾ ac.	3	—	3	2	—	1
	144	216	360	100	99½	100
average size	8 ac.	5 ac.	6⅓ ac.			

TABLE 3. Acreage and percentage of Land in size groups on Darley Estate, 1818.

	Acreage			Percentage		
	Arable	Grass	Total	Arable	Grass	Total
Range	no.	no.	no.	per cent	per cent	percent
under 2 ac.	5	40	45	½	3½	2
2— 4¾ ac.	95	278	373	7½	26	16
under 5 ac.	100	318	418	8	29½	18
5— 9¾ ac.	532	451	983	44½	41½	43
10—14¾ ac.	322	224	546	27½	21	24
15—19¾ ac.	181	89	270	15	8	12
over 19¾ ac.	63	—	63	5	—	3
	1198	1082	2280	100	100	100

TABLE 4. Percentage of Fields not under 2 acres in size groups

Range	Arable per cent	Grass per cent	Total per cent
2— 4¾ ac.	19	49½	36
5— 9¾ ac.	51½	36½	43
10—14¾ ac.	19½	11	15
15—19¾ ac.	8	3	5
over 19¾ ac.	2	—	1
	100	100	100

TABLE 5. Number of "Fields" in size groups, Darley Estate, 1818 and 1939.

	Number		Per cent.	
Range	1818 no.	1939 no.	1818 per cent	1939 per cent
under 2 ac.	82	21	15½	5½
2— 4¾ ac.	142	66	27	17
under 5 ac.	224	87	42½	22½
5— 9¾ ac.	201	159	38½	41
10—14¾ ac.	66	103	12½	26½
15—19¾ ac.	20	19	4	5
20—24¾ ac.	6	13	1½	3½
over 24¾ ac.	4	5	1	1½
	521	386	100	100
Average size, ac.	6½	9		

TABLE 6. Acreage covered by size groups, 1818 and 1939

	Acreage		Per cent	
Range	1818 no.	1939 no.	1818 per cent	1939 per cent
under 2 acres	102	27	3	½
2— 4 ac.	462	237	14	7
under 5 acres	564	264	17	7½
5— 9¾ ac.	1429	1181	43	34½
10—14¾ ac.	768	1229	23	36
15—19¾ ac.	337	322	10	9½
over 19¾ ac.	246	428	7	12½
	3344	3424	100	100

TABLE 7. Percentage of Arable and Grass Fields in size groups, 1818 and 1939.

	Arable		Grass		Total	
	1818 per cent	1939 per cent	1818 per cent	1939 per cent	1818 per cent	1939 per cent
under 2 acres	3½	½	17½	9½	12	5½
2— 4¾ ac.	18	10½	40½	22½	32	17
under 5 ac.	21½	11	58	32	44	22½
5— 9¾ ac.	50	49	30	35	38	41
10—14¾ ac.	19	31	9	23	13	26½
15—19¾ ac.	7½	6	2½	4	4	5
20—24¾ ac.	2	3	—	4	1	3
over 24¾ ac.	—	—	—	2	—	2
	100	100	99½	100	100	100

TABLE 8. Darley Estate, 1818, compared with Ribston Estate, 1836.

	Ribston 1836	Darley, 1818
Number of farms	30	35
Acreage	ac.	ac.
Arable	2330	1198
Grass	867	1082
Total	3197	3640★
Average size of farm	106	104★
Percentage arable land	73 per cent	52½ per cent
Percentage grass land	27 per cent	47½ per cent
Percentage arable fields	70 per cent	60 per cent
Percentage grass fields	30 per cent	40 per cent
Average size, arable fields	7¼ ac.	8 ac.
Average size, grass fields	6¼ ac.	5 ac.
Average size, all fields	7 ac.	6⅓ ac.

★refers to the total sample. The other figures for Darley in Tables 8, 9, and 10 refer to the reduced sample for which the division between arable and grass was possible.

TABLE 9. Percentage of Fields in size groups, Ribston and Darley.

	Arable		Grass	
Range	Ribston per cent	Darley per cent	Ribston per cent	Darley per cent
under 2 acres	1	4	17	17½
2— 4¾ ac.	27	18	33	41
under 5 acres	28	22	50	58½
5— 9¾ ac.	53	50	31	30
10—14¾ ac.	16	19	13	9
15—19¾ ac.	2	7	3	2½
over 19¾ ac.	1	2	3	—
	100	100	100	100

TABLE 10. Percentage of Land in size groups, Ribston and Darley.

	Arable		Grass	
Range	Ribston per cent	Darley per cent	Ribston per cent	Darley per cent
under 2 acres	—	—	3½	2
2— 4¾ ac.	14	8	17	27½
under 5 acres	14	8	20½	29½
5— 9¾ ac.	54	44½	35½	42
10—14¾ ac.	25	27½	24	20½
15—19¾ ac.	4	15	7	8
over 19¾ ac.	3	5	13	—
	100	100	100	100

OBITUARY

PROFESSOR JOHN LE PATOUREL, F.B.A.

1909-81

President of the Society, 1965-69; Hon. Vice-President from 1969.

Members of the Council and the Society were saddened to learn of the sudden death on 22 July 1981 of Emeritus Professor John Le Patourel; he was in his 72nd year. He leaves a widow (Mrs. Jean Le Patourel, a member of the Society and a leading medieval archaeologist), three sons and a daughter.

Professor Le Patourel was a native of Guernsey, where his father was H. M. Attorney-General, and he was educated there and at Jesus College, Oxford. After taking first class honours in history he began his researches into the medieval history of the Channel Islands, on which he wrote his thesis for the degree of D.Phil. His first appointment was at University College, London; thence he moved in 1945 to the Chair of Medieval History in the University of Leeds, where he remained (latterly with the signal honour of a research professorship) until his retirement in 1974. Professor le Patourel was Hon. Archivist to the Royal Court of Guernsey, where he was responsible for important work on the records, and he served on the Council of the Royal Historical Society, of which for a time he was a Vice-President. In 1957 his work on the Channel Islands and on Anglo-French history was recognised by the conferment of an honorary doctorate by the University of Caen. In 1972 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, an honour which gave much pleasure not only to his professional colleagues on both sides of the Channel but to many grateful former students as well.

Although John Le Patourel wore his honours with characteristic modesty they reflected a widespread recognition of his distinction as a medieval scholar, notably as the author of an impressively steady stream of papers and monographs on the medieval Anglo-French domains. These fruitful studies culminated in his splendid book, *The Norman Empire* (1976), which was to have been followed by a sequel on the Angevin dominions. He was always aware, and he sought to make others equally aware, of 'the Continental and French dimension of English history'. At heart a traditional constitutional, legal and administrative historian, he brought an incisive and unusually questioning and subtle mind to his study of the sources. He remained active in research and writing until the end and was working in the University on the day before he died.

As a teacher Le Patourel was patient, encouraging, kindly but quietly demanding. His influence on colleagues and pupils alike was perhaps more by example than by precept for he set himself the highest standards of work, which others felt obliged - without exhortation, or pressure - to try to approach. In the lecture room he excelled; generations of undergraduates, as well as members of local societies and the public at large, had cause to remember his elegant, meticulously prepared, lucidly and calmly delivered expositions, just occasionally spiced with humour. As one former student has remarked, 'Le P. makes medieval history seem easy'. Le Patourel always sought to devote his time and energies to his subject, his pupils and his family; to music, walking and historical sight-seeing. He had no taste for administration, yet ability and training made him an orderly administrator in his department: he expanded its tutorial system, built up a fine reference library, and established method classes for postgraduate study. In the wider sphere of University affairs he had no great liking for committees, yet he gave influential service for some time as chairman of the library committee; he established the Medieval Group for the interdisciplinary study of the medieval world, and he was one of the founders, as well as the first Director, of the University's Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies.

In addition to his university work Professor Le Patourel, who was not blessed with robust health, gave generously of his time to lecture to numerous audiences in Yorkshire and beyond on medieval subjects. Although local and regional history formed only a part of his historical interests he made notable contributions to its advancement. As *The Times* obituarist said, 'The North and the Dales soon took hold of him, and he served the interests of northern scholarship with great devotion'. He acted as chairman of the regional committee for the National Register of Archives. From 1949 to 1955 he was President of the Thoresby Society; he served as President of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society from 1965 to 1969; and he was also President of one of the oldest of the local learned societies, the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, from 1966 to 1968.

To his work with these bodies John Le Patourel brought the same concern for high standards and orderly business as he showed in his professional life. He sustained, reinvigorated and consolidated the Thoresby Society during the difficult post-war years. As President of the Y.A.S. he instituted and carried through to a successful conclusion a wide-ranging re-consideration of our Society's activities, organisation and facilities. In this, not wholly simple, task, his grasp of medieval constitutional and administrative records and methods no doubt helped him considerably; so too did his unfailing courtesy, tact and friendly charm. His patience with diehards, whether conservative or radical, was an example to those privileged to be members of his central activities committee.

From the start he had decided (unlike some of his predecessors) to be 'a working president': he entertained visiting speakers, he presided at almost all the lectures, as well as at Council and committee meetings, and he eagerly travelled to give lectures to the various local groups and affiliated societies. In all this work he showed a quiet determination both to hold the Society together and to raise the quality, not only of its lecture and excursion programmes, but of all its activities. He was concerned to improve the standard of articles in the *Journal,* and he eventually persuaded the Council to take the first steps in the provision of better resources for the Library. Le Patourel was also the 'chief begetter' of an imaginative scheme to establish in Leeds a headquarters and meeting-place for a variety of learned bodies in the arts and sciences. Although the project foundered when funds were not forthcoming, an important part of the object was served when Le Patourel succeeded in bringing the Y.A.S. and the Thoresby Society together under one roof (with the Leeds Civic Trust) at Claremont. In many ways, then, his presidency unaugurated a new era in the history of our Society.

Despite the considerable achievements of his presidency, however, one sensed that Professor Le Patourel himself always attached most importance to his historical work. Throughout his life he showed an enthusiastic interest in the artefacts of the past, especially in manuscript records, historic architecture and coins. Possessed of an intensely visual memory, he had a real feeling for the history of buildings and gave superb lectures on the county's castles, parish churches and monasteries. The excursions which he conducted for the Y.A.S. and the Thoresby Society were always something of an occasion and will be widely remembered.

Moreover he made important written contributions to the study of Yorkshire's history. His work on the Norman settlement of England was, as *The Times* said, 'shot through with numerous illustrations and insights drawn from his deep knowledge of the local history of the county'. In the University, his last public lecture (subsequently published) traced the influence of medieval France in modern Yorkshire. He produced for the Thoresby Society's *Publications* an excellent edition of the medieval records of Leeds, and his work also included papers on Norman Yorkshire, Kirkstall Abbey, and the parish churches of Leeds and Ilkley. Le Patourel was one of the principal founders of *Northern History,* the journal published since 1966 by his own university department; he contributed to its pages and gave unstinting support, encouragement and advice. A special number of this journal, volume X (1975), was published in honour of John Le Patourel, to mark his retirement from his Chair in the preceding year; this issue included a bibliography of his historical writings over fory years. Since then, happily, the list has continued to grow, and plans are afoot to publish his more recent work, and his collected papers, with an updated bibliography.

Professor John Le Patourel died when research and writing were still a joy to him: that is surely what he would have wished. In expressing our deep sympathy to his wife Jean, and the family, we record our own sense of loss at the passing of one of the most eminent scholars in the Society's history. We also acknowledge our gratitude for his lasting influence on the Society's affairs, for the distinction he conferred upon the presidency, and for his contribution to the understanding of the county's past.

G. C. F. FORSTER
Hon. Vice-President

BOOK REVIEWS

Archaeology, History and Planning: a review article on

M. FAULL and S. MOORHOUSE (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to AD 1500* (West Yorkshire Metropolitan CC, Wakefield, 1981); 1010 pp, 12 pls, 9 figs, 31 maps; price £39, or £35 if more than one copy ordered.

These fine volumes (three A4 size plus an A2 volume of maps) are the outcome of research by the senior staff of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Unit. The editing is the work of Margaret Faull and Steve Moorhouse, both archaeologists. They have both contributed major sections of the text as well. Other parts are by David Michelmore, the Unit's medieval historian, and Jeny Keighley, a prehistorian. The Survey is by far the most ambitious attempt made in England in recent years to provide a sites and monuments survey as an adjunct in the planning process. It is however much more than this; it is an historical and archaeological assessment which will be the principal source for scholars working on the area for many years to come. It does however also attempt to define areas or topics which should have priority treatment in the immediate future. Unlike most surveys of its kind, written sources are as thoroughly used as the archaeological landscape, finds and records.

The West Yorkshire Unit was founded in 1975 as part of a division of the Metropolitan County Council, and herein lies its strength. Although partly supported by central government funds through the DOE, it has been supported by its Council and other local sources to an equal or greater extent. Its Director, Philip Mayes, has thus felt able to be independent in his strategy of research to an extent hardly parallelled by any other Unit. He has built up a team of talented staff of wide-ranging interests, who have accomplished major fieldwork, documentary research, and excavation on all aspects of the county's archaeology and history. There have been extensive excavations at prehistoric sites, such as Ledston; Roman *LAGENTIUM* (Castleford), and Dalton Parlours Villa; and on several medieval sites of different kinds, together with large scale surveys of buildings and the industrial landscape. Blanket air survey and fieldwalking are important aspects of their work. Mr. Mayes has been highly successful not only in persuading his own Council of the importance of archaeology in local planning and education, but also the public. The most notable achievement here was the enclosure of a 'Roman' newspaper, the *Lagentium Express,* in every copy of an edition of the *Wakefield Express.*

The success of the Unit has been all the more remarkable inasmuch as West Yorkshire is not at first sight an archaeologically rich area, by comparison even with other parts of Yorkshire. Indeed before the Unit was formed, or rather before the present publication appeared, one might have been forgiven for believing that it was a dismal industrial area, devoid of any surviving archaeology, and hardly worth having any archaeological effort, let alone such a comparatively large Unit as that which now flourishes. The view could still be taken that it is ironic that so much efficient research has gone into such a relatively uninteresting and 'destroyed' area rather than one of massive archaeological potential, such as the old East Riding; and this may also be the reaction to the present volumes.

Paradoxically, although the destruction of a large part of the county's archaeology has been due to extensive industrialisation and the growth of several large towns, including the massive sprawl of Leeds, it is this which has generated the dense population, wealth and rateable value which alone can assure local government support of the scale needed either to run a Unit of this size, or to finance the present publication; a similar phenomenon is currently taking place in Greater Manchester. The more devastated the landscape, the greater the resources, and therefore intense local interest in what remains of the local archaeology. It is this pride in the local and parochial past which is responsible for these volumes, which in their turn do much to dispel the image of a West Yorkshire archaeological desert. Even if the archaeology is a bit thin, this survey, and especially the massive historical input for the last millennium, have brought to vivid life a past whose material remains have been largely obliterated. One can glimpse, now, what the great valleys of the Aire and Calder, and the hills around them, were like for those that lived in them in the recent medieval past and in remote prehistory, before the rivers were polluted and the grass made black.

Volume 1 begins with a survey of the natural environment in pre-hominid times. This is before the eighth millennium BC, when man first penetrated West Yorkshire following the end of sub-Arctic conditions. The Survey continues with a chronological series of essays on prehistory, and on the Roman, post-Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian periods. There is a special section on the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical pattern. Although these sections of Volume 1 were written in relation to West Yorkshire, they all have wider relevance to the north of England, and are useful introductions for the student or non-specialist.

Volume 2 is a more detailed account of the documentary background to medieval tenure and administration; this is principally a history of the 231 townships, but a section on Boundaries integrates this with the archaeology. This latter approach is also true of most of Volume 3 on the medieval rural landscape, which is presented thematically. Plates, bibliography and indices complete the text, which is supplemented by a volume of maps to illustrate several aspects.

That is then the bare structure of the Survey, an interesting combination of chronological, spatial and thematic analysis. We may now consider the volumes in more detail. The introductory section on the environment and its effect on settlement uses a wide variety of evidence, including such pollen analysis as has been done. The resources of the area include stone, flint, limestone, gypsum, clay, ironstone, sand, gravel, alum, wood and peat. Deposits of the latter are up to 9 m thick on the Pennines and are a major target for future potential work.

The importance of the later Palaeolithic and Mesolithic is stressed. There is a surprisingly high input by amateurs here. Any Mesolithic site with rich environmental evidence and stratification would have a high priority in future work. The Neolithic is unrepresented by ceramic or mortuary evidence, and the Bronze Age is also sparse. The Iron Age provides some of the most spectacular earthworks (and preserved archaeology) in its hillforts, notably Almondbury and Barwick-in-Elmet. Hermann Ramm's hypothesis that the latter might have been Cartimandua's headquarters is not however mentioned.

As in all sections of the Survey, discussion of the present state of knowledge, and of the surviving field remains, are concluded by an assessment of research priorities. Mrs. Keighley's excellent essays on the prehistory should be read by all archaeologists in the north; it is however disappointing that her suggestions for future work as defined by *site* rather than *theme;* and of ritual monuments, rather than the settlement sites. The latter are surely indicated by flint and stone axe distributions, here relegated to the debris of hunting!

Margaret Faull's Roman section is a splendid summing-up of the substantial evidence; there are some surprises here for this reviewer, notably the importance of Adel, where an aqueduct and a life-size statue (broken up and burnt by labourers in the hope that it might contain treasure!) are reported. Wetherby could be the latest-occupied Roman site, and it should be noted that the skeletons with 'arms bent towards heads and heads to the west' are as likely to be dark age or later as Roman, the few finds being residual; similarly a late Roman flanged dish in the filling of a well at Crosley Wood does not date it to the Roman period. There is a stimulating discussion on the extension of native settlement on the Pennines to provide food for military forts, and on the importance of the road system. Late or post-Roman mortuary practice is indicated by gypsum burials in coffins near Leeds and Castleford (which may be Christian) and by a burial with a bone comb behind the skull. It is again sites rather than themes which are to be looked for by following up find spots. It has to be remembered that the thematic approach had not become standard at the time those volumes were planned. This section ends with what must be a definitive discussion on the identification of *CAMPODUNUM* with Leeds, depending heavily (and doubtless authoritatively) on place-name evidence.

Dr. Faull is also at her scholarly best in the post-Roman period. The evidence is from documents and place-names, except for the important dykes. These are surprisingly massive, the ditch of Grim's Ditch being 18 m wide. What is the context of the Roman coins in the Rein Dyke? Not surprisingly, the preservation of these earthworks is given high priority, together with investigation of the several *ECCLES* sites, holy wells, and areas around the name *WALH*. These targets are perhaps our only hope of extending the elusive archaeology of Elmet beyond two dubious coins of Justinian.

The material for the earlier Anglo-Saxon period is also sparse; there is a maximum of five graves known, and some stray finds. Dr. Faull discusses the survival of Celtic place-names, and it is to these and to other written sources that she turns for her priorities – *burh* names, Otley, Tanshelf, and possible pre-Conquest mills. Leeds is the only major pre-Conquest site, but it seems that its parish church is the only area likely to be relatively undisturbed.

The Scandinavian settlement offers no evidence except place-names; it must have been some relief to turn from such massive negative evidence to firmer ground, with substantial discussions of the Pre-Conquest ecclesiastical pattern. Here at last are four of five churches, churchyards of curious shapes, sculpture, a scratch-dial, and especially numerous crosses. The function of the last-named is usefully discussed, and also their relationship to churches and cemeteries. Several models are put forward of possible sequences of cemetery-cross to proprietary churches near halls or cemeteries; some diagrams of possible alternatives would have been useful here. A major survey is planned in this field by the Unit in association with outside bodies.

Volume 2 makes no claim to be a medieval history of the county, or to include any study of towns. Its purpose is stated to be a survey of the 'landholding patterns among the upper ranks of society and of the minor administrative divisions of the landscape'. The accounts of 231 townships will obviously be a very good starting-point for local history, and perhaps (though this is not obvious) as raw data for comparative synthesis. The only wider discussions here are on administrative organisation and the distribution of wealth. Although David Michelmore has provided a major academic contribution to the Survey, which includes a discussion of the important written sources for the county, the whole section sits rather uneasily in a publication largely concerned with archaeology and planning. The inclusion of so much straight history is however believed to be necessary to the Unit's work, and is consistent with the heavily historically-orientated approach to the Survey as a whole, a point to which we may return in considering Volume 3. In the present context, more topographical comments might have been included.

They are indeed present in Steve Moorhouse's contribution to this volume on Boundaries; here every effort is made to relate history to archaeology and landscape. This is an original piece. He discusses linear and intermittent 'spot' markers (especially stones), hedges, ditches, fences, cairns, crosses, rivers and their abandoned loops. All this the reviewer found very educational, and of great interest too is the relationships between boundaries and burials. Were some 'barrows' actually boundary mounds? Moorhouse suggests that gallows sites and their small cemeteries were on the perimeters of demesne lands of the tenants-in-chief; a 'grave of three fourteenth century thieves' is on an angle between two township boundaries. Such discussion is notably lacking from other parts of this volume, with some exceptions such as Nostell Priory.

Volume 3 is arguably the finest of the three, an examination of the Rural Medieval Landscape, in which Steve Moorhouse provides a feast of fresh and original observations and facts, smoothly tailored into a carefully-planned structure which must be one of the best surveys of a medieval landscape that has ever been done, the most exciting since Beresford and St. Joseph's aerial/historical masterpiece.

It was principally this section that made the reviewer feel that West Yorkshire was not such a bad place after all. Moorhouse starts boldly with the assertion that in this period 'archaeology is relegated to a secondary position, answering questions posed by documentary work'; the aim is to 'place the potential archaeology of the medieval period in its historical setting', that is to say the systems which managed the units of rural society. He is of course here reflecting the historical bias of the Survey as a whole, and especially echoes Dr. Faull's belief that field work is done in response to clues provided by written sources.

Such a philosophy is widely held (notably by historians) but is diametrically opposed to that of this reviewer, who supports the 'school' of Chris Taylor and Peter Fowler; this is based on the belief that in archaeology it is the *landscape* which should be studied and analysed, and when the limit of this has been reached, hypotheses generated may be tested against other sources of evidence.

As Moorhouse stresses, however, this approach might not yield dividends in West Yorkshire, where 'there is little to interpret. . . if archaeology and surface finds were the sole source of information'. The important thing here is that Moorhouse knows what he is doing, and is explicit about it - 'the aim is to reverse the traditional procedure of field archaeology where sites are mainly identified by fieldwork and their existence checked in documents. Rather should the documents *predict* the pressence/location of sites; research should reduce to a minimum the possibility of missing major medieval sites'.

It must be straightway admitted that the results, as expressed in this publication, wholly justify the approach inasmuch as they have led to a series of thematic essays which must become essential reading for everyone interested in medieval social and economic history. Documentary research, fieldwork, new survey, and limited excavation are deployed in many fascinating topics.

Ch 22 begins with a critical review of settlement archaeology and notably the problem of the lack of deserted medieval villages in the county. Ch 23 is again an original discussion of communications, including not only routes (linear movement zones, as we call them at Wharram) but their *nodes*, where they led to:- memorial court meeting centre, mill, woodland, field, pasture, grazing, turbary and well; the whole controlled by the systems of parish, monastery, and commerce. Here surely is the framework of the rural landscape.

Ch 24 extends this even further to the features associated with routes:- river crossings, bridges, fords, ferries, stiles, gates, signposts, inns and even brothels (Le Bordel' in Pontefract, a 'nunnery' of 1598, a 'Lewdhouse Inn' of 1684). The archaeological evidence for these institutions may well be groups of buried pots, in which brews were fermented to 'affect the menstrual cycle'! There were hospitals *en route*, and hermitages to help the traveller; the hermit would act as host, guide, light bearer, labourer, alms gatherer, turnpike man and bridge warden.

In this, as in the other chapters of Volume 3 the written sources are skilfully interwoven with the topographical reality and archaeological detail to make medieval West Yorkshire come alive. The framework of communications he depicts reminds one of comparable (though different) factors that must have determined this framework in the pre-Roman period. Archaeological demographers such as Peter Fowler are arguing for at least as high a population in the Iron Age as in the period of which Moorhouse is writing, and there is no reason to think that society was any less complex. here the interdisciplinary approach to the study of medieval rural society becomes a 'historical ethnography' which prehistorians should be aware of.

The same style is evident in studies of field-systems, woodland, and water supplies, all of general interest, notably the discussion of water-meadows. There is a major section on the manorial framework, in which attention is focussed on the influence of this on material culture. The survey of mills expands this subject further than previous writers, emphasising the variety of function now present - corn, mustard, pepper, cider, ore-hammering, tanning, paint-making, sawing and fulling. How many of these were also present in the thousands of pre-Conquest mills valued in Domesday Book? It is a pity that Moorhouse uses the word *vertical* mill to describe the horizontal-wheeled mill. Moorhouse admits that evidence for this type may be found in excavation, notably where the supply of water makes them appropriate; but all the written and pictorial evidence points to the better-known vertical-wheeled mill being standard in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. People were occasionally killed by mill-wheels, and when this happened the mill was dismantled.

Other manorial features include bread ovens, pounds, gallows and prisons. Demesne holdings include castles and their earthworks, fishponds and fisheries, dovecotes, rabbit-warrens, and animal farms and shelters. All of these are again put into a wider perspective than that of West Yorkshire, and related directly to physical remains likely to be encountered; that on rabbit-warrens is especially informative.

Crafts and industries are more familiar ground, and Moorhouse's account of these should be read now in association with David Crossley's CBA volume on Medieval Industries (1982) which includes an excellent general study by Moorhouse on medieval pottery. A strong plea is made for proper survey of the thirty-two monastic granges which he has been able to identify - a neglected subject, notably their effect on settlement depopulation.

The final section on structures and minor features has an exhaustive description of rural housing in all its archaeological aspects, rather than those traditionally covered by vernacular architectural historians, including notably the written evidence for houses abandoned in antiquity and those that were moveable! Minor features include familiar ones of field barns, kilns and ovens; but also the lesser known gardens, orchards, vineyards, and animal-traps. Wolf-pits may well be found archaeologically, and wolf traps will leave two circular rings of stakeholes, the wolf moving into a bait and triggering off a door. Nets were used to catch foxes, rabbits and partridges, and there were stalking-frames for cows, oxen, horses, deer and stags!.

All archaeologists should consider the multiple uses of pits, for sawing, to bury earthenware for fermentation and preservation of fruit, for concealing of valuables, cess, and industrial and medical purposes; pits of precise dimensions to locate water; and man-traps. Students of mortuary practice may note the record of dead boy being found in a pot in a pit.

The lighter side of medieval life will be found by archaeologists who can find greens, special games plots, and archery butts. A row of angled stakeholes could be the battle evidence for the archers defending themselves against cavalry.

There is thus much of interest in volume 3; the only lack is perhaps more diagrams and illustrations to show how things work; but Moorhouse's survey is as a whole an outstanding achievement.

The rest of volume 3 is taken up with plates, a selection of visual interest, but not of the highest quality; why were these not interleaved with the text? The Glossary is invaluable, and so too is the Bibliography, not surprisingly massive - over 2000 items in 58 pages. For researchers, and notable students, there are substantial indices, of names, places and occupations; and for those looking for dissertation and thesis topics, there is an 18-page list of subjects, for the study of which the Survey will be a fine introduction.

The three volumes of text are supplemented by a volume of 22 maps, at A2 size, in full colour, and with a removable binding. They are of the highest quality and usefulness, both cartographically and in their printing. They alone will be invaluable to all students of West Yorkshire for many years to come, and are undoubtedly the best source currently available.

The Survey was planned by a Unit operating under the direct administration of, and with total support from, the County Council. Its purpose was to assist planning, in the evaluation of the history and archaeology of the county. It would it was hoped enable an intelligent and academic consideration of priorities not only of research, but especially of preservation of the heritage, and the response to major and minor threats.

One may feel that the survey is too elaborate for this purpose; that the planning process would have needed something simpler, shorter, and more directly related to planning needs, Most other publications which had this kind of genesis are molehills compared to this mountain. Two things however may be said. Firstly that the retrieval system operated by the Unit in Wakefield is highly efficient and geared directly to local authority needs; and (as enquiry elicited) that the higher echelons of the county council knew exactly what the scope of the volumes was to be, they approved of it from the beginning, and are extremely proud of it now. We must congratulate Philip Mayes in his skill in persuading them that it was an *academic* survey that was needed, and we must envy him the enlightened attitude of his chiefs which has made all this possible. Not only have they supported the heavy involvement of several staff members over some eight years (none too long for a work of this size and detail), but have paid for and supervised a publication of high quality, which cannot be expected to show a large profit in sales, though it is in fact good value. At the time of writing, it has sold over 500 copies, and has almost covered costs.

Our best thanks must however go to the writers, and especially to Margaret Faull and Steve Moorhouse, not only for their own major contributions, but also for a piece of editing which can have few equals. Typographical and spelling errors are astonishingly few, and the general hierarchy of headings is clearly structured.

Members of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society should have this survey in their libraries. If any of them have not bought it, they should do so without delay, while it is still in print.

PHILIP RAHTZ
University of York

West Yorkshire: "A Noble Scene of Industry" The Development of the County 1500-1830
1981 West Yorks M.C.C. pp 59. Pl. 35. Figs. 35. £1.30.

This booklet contains the fruits of the post-medieval survey of the County undertaken by Dr. P. W. Lock and others with grants from the D.O.E. It is a combination of fieldwork, and research in the five main record repositories, with photographs from Leeds City Libraries and other collections to supplement recent work. There are chapters on Textiles, Coal and Iron, Communications and Housing, with an outline of priorities for future work. The bibliography includes as well as standard works, a selection of references from articles in *Industrial Archaeology* and *Textile History* - national publications of some 18-20 years standing which local historians often neglect.

The various accounts are useful introductions to the aspects of industrial history covered though one is left wondering as to the *extent* of the physical remains of e.g. early textile mills, iron works etc. perhaps a gazeteer at the end of each chapter would have helped, also more location maps and the cross-referencing of the descriptions with museum exhibits where these apply, as examples of the products of industries. It is hoped one day that the study might be extended beyond 1830 though clearly this would be a mammoth task but work has been carried out (e.g. by Robert Carter) and this is something the Yorks Archaeological Society and the County Council could co-ordinate.

A. D. GEORGE

CLIFFORD DAVIDSON and DAVID E. O'CONNOR, *York Art. A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama,* Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 1978, pp. v + 209, frontispiece, pl. 44, fig. 1, price not stated.

This booklet provides an interesting example of the enthusiastic intensity of American scholarshp. It constitutes the first in a series of regional studies designed to help "students of iconography, art, early drama and theater" or, as the Introduction says "its primary intention is to assist those approaching iconography and the spectacle of medieval drama". In practice most of the editorial emphasis is on its use in the presentation of medieval drama - mystery plays, morality plays, etc. It is perhaps a facet of the current authenticity movement in art-studies, also to be found in the considerable and increasing use of original or reproduction instruments in the performance of pre-nineteenth-century music.

Hence the aim is to provide a list of all persons and subjects in the biblical and theological teaching of the mediaeval church which are, or have been, portrayed in the art of the city of York. These portrayals can then be studied in terms of appearance, dress, arrangement and so on, in order to avoid any anachronistic or inconsistent details in study, writing or performance. This is not, therefore, a guide book to York art. It is no use taking it around York Minster or the Yorkshire Museum in order to identify figures or subjects. The figure or subject has to be specified first, and can then be looked up under the appropriate heading to see where and in what form it appears. In this sense the booklet suffers from the inclusion of recorded but vanished works of art, so that a mixture of research scholarship is intruded into what is intended to be a practical reference work; in fairness to the authors, such entries are marked with an asterisk.

The main text is arranged under a series of subject headings. It starts with the Old Testament, proceeds via the early life of the Virgin to the Infancy, Ministry, Passion and Resurrection of Christ, followed by the subsequent life of the Virgin and the Last Judgment. Then follow headings on the Creed, Apostles and Saints, and finally two pages of miscellaneous entries. There is then a list of saints' relics in York Minster, culled from the fabric rolls, and an appendix on musical iconography. The bibliography is extensive, but is hampered by unemphasised headings and some very idiosyncratical abbreviations. There is no separate index.

The artistic net is cast wide. Stained glass, both from York Minster and the parish churches, forms the bulk of the entries, and for these the American editor has been fortunate to obtain the expert knowledge of Mr. David O'Connor, formerly Radcliffe research fellow at York University. Also included are sculptures, ivory and wood carvings, paintings, embroideries, manuscripts and early printed books. These last two categories lead the reader into some far-flung areas of scholarship, and some of the examples have very dubious qualifications for inclusion as York art: Queen Isabella's psalter, now in Munich, was executed as a bethrothal or wedding gift for Edward II's queen; it has no connection with York beyond that of having been illustrated in the midlands in the most southernmost area of the huge archiepiscopal diocese of York; Herman Schere's 'Book of Hours' (of the Use of Sarum), with its possibly sole-surviving office of St. Richard le Scrope, the Archbishop of York beheaded in 1405, may possibly have been produced for a York or Yorkshire patron, but the illustrations, although contemporary, were not an integral part of the written work, and there has never been any suggestion otherwise of connecting Scheere or his school with local work in York. It might equally well be suggested that the book and its illustrations were made for Edward, Duke of York (d. 1415), whose great church at Fotheringay in Northants was later to be given a stained-glass representation of Richard as a saint;[1] a continental missal of 1533 is also of doubtful relevance even though it was printed for the Use of York.

Inevitably in a booklet of such detailed and abundant information there is a number of omissions and errors, but only a few need be catalogued here. There is no entry for St. Clement, although he appears twice in the Minster's stained glass (I Tr and SC10 Tr); p. 54, in the 'Adoration' scene in SC3, "1390" should read "1340"; p. 77, the magnificent stone-carved "Arma Christi' over the north arcade of the choir is omitted; p. 96, bottom line, "15c." is an error for "Late 13c."; p. 162, first entry, the date of the Minster's east window has been accidentally expanded from 1408 to 1413; p. 163, one of the figures recently replaced in the east window of St. Denys' church is probably that of St. Leonard; p. 188-192, only two of the seven magnificent instrument-playing angels carved in the central tower of the Minster are mentioned, and these are wrongly dated to 1470-1 (see also p. 17); the correct date is *c.* 1420, as it is for the Pelican in its piety on p. 183.

The booklet is a highly valuable and fascinating compendium of iconographical information, but will be of more use to the student and researcher than to the tourist or general reader, even if it were to be found on sale anywhere in York. I could find no copy in any York bookshop. Anyone who does obtain a copy should read the Preface, Contents and Introduction carefully in order to make the most of the enormous amount of work which has gone into its compilation. The forty offset-litho illustrations are of indifferent quality, especially as they have to compete with four pages of glossy plates at the end.

Clifton York

T. W. FRENCH

---

[1] R. Marks, 'The Glazing of Fotheringay Church and College', *JBAA*, cxxxl, 1978, 96.

JANET DOUGLAS and KEN POWELL, *Leeds — 1. The Bank*, SELIA, 35 Grange Grove, London, N1 2NP, 1981, pp.16, ill. + plan, 45p.

This is the first of an intended series of Walks in Industrial Yorkshire and the first publication by SELIA, originally set up to produce a gazetteer of the industrial archaeology of South East London (which may be its second publication) — hence the name. *Leeds — 1. The Bank* is a fairly straightforward industrial archaeology walk of the usual kind, but perhaps founded more solidly on local historical research than is sometimes the case. Ken Powell is the Northern Secretary of SAVE. The plan on pp. 8 and 9 could be a little better but this is a minor criticism. The walk is to be commended in that it is one of the first publications of its kind to deal with an area very rich in remains but somewhat lacking in active field workers. It is to be hoped that this booklet will be the forerunner of many and of a cascade of publications on the industrial archaeology of the south of Yorkshire. It is to be retailed by W. H. Smith in Leeds but may be obtained from the publisher for 45p plus 12½p postage.

R. J. M. CARR.

DAVID HEY, *Buildings of Britain 1550-1750: Yorkshire,* Moorland Publishing, Ashbourne, pp. 166, pls. 154, figs. 9, 2 maps, £8.95.

For many readers books on historic buildings can be something of a bore. Too often they are turgidly written and replete with minute technical detail nor readily comprehended without close study of equally technical drawings and photographs. At the other end of the scale the guide book approach beloved of many old-fashioned topographical writers - 'Turn off the A. 999 down the B. 1234 and after a mile or so you will see across a ploughed field a gem of a Jacobean farmhouse (no public access)' - makes equally dull fare for the reader.

No such criticisms apply, however, to Dr. David Hey's new book, the first in a countrywide series of which he is general editor. In his preface he states that the series aims to provide 'reasonably comprehensive guides that are attractively presented and readily understood. In this series technical language is used sparingly and each building is placed in its regional setting'. How fully does Dr. Hey meet his own demands?

Two-thirds of the book are devoted to a survey of Yorkshire houses, arranged in chronological order, beginning with the gradual extinction of the timber-frame tradition and ending with the county's major Baroque and Palladian great houses. A final chapter examines other buildings erected in the period - churches and chapels, schools and almshouses, for the most part - with brief comments of gaols, lighthouses, bridges and a few industrial buildings besides. The book also includes some reflections on how local historians can often date buildings, transcripts of two probate inventories, a useful gazetteer, a brief glossary and a bibliography (which unaccountably omits Derek Linstrum's large study, *West Yorkshire: Architects and Architecture)*.

Dr. Hey's very readable survey is clearly and economically written. Some of the buildings about which he writes are, inevitably, very familiar, a comment that is of course most true of the county's 'display houses', heavily publicised and much visited. But by careful choice of many less obvious examples of houses and other buildings dating from the period 1550-1750 the author is able (as he hoped) to give the reader an impression of both continuity and change, 'a strong sense of historical development at various social levels'. He is especially good on the houses built by parish gentry and wealthy clothiers in the Halifax district of the Pennines, and there will be few readers who find no surprises in both text and illustrations.

The photographs are an integral part of the book. Many of them are rather dark, to a degree which enhances the severity of the houses built of millstone grit and will confirm the southerners in their view of dark, Satanic Yorkshire. But many of them also provide a revelation of the variety and richness and the county's heritage. Moreover, in this study they are not simply described and photographed, for Dr. Hey is ever mindful of his chosen buildings in their historical context. He discusses the families who built them, their connections with the locality and its economy and social life. He is much more successful and informative when dealing with vernacular building and great houses than with his choice of 'special purpose buildings', but perhaps the imbalance is inevitable given the much larger number of domestic examples from which to choose.

A study of the entire Georgian period would have a different tale to tell. But that would be to ask for another, or a much longer, book, and for the present readers in the county and visitors to it will be content with Dr. Hey's fine start to his promising series.

University of Leeds G. C. F. FORSTER

P. E. S. ROUTH, *Coxwold and the Belasyse Monuments,* Leeds, 1981, pp. 14, 75p.
P. ROUTH and R. KNOWLES, *A Ryther legacy: the Monuments assessed,* Bedesman Books, 30 Newland Court, Sandal, Wakefield, 1981; pp. 36, inc. 36 ills, £1.80.
P. ROUTH and R. KNOWLES, *The Sheriff Hutton Alabaster: a re-assessment,* Rosalba Press, Wakefield, 1981; pp. 30 inc. 30 ills. £1.50.

These booklets are welcome results of Mrs. Routh's enthusiasm for medieval tombs in Yorkshire. The four monuments of the Ryther family range from *c.* 1327 to 1491; those of the Belasyses, later Earls Fauconberg, span two centuries from 1603. All are illustrated and described. A tomb in Sheriff Hutton church has often been identified as commemorating Edward of Middleham, Prince of Wales, who died in 1484. Though its publication was funded by the Yorkshire branch of the Richard III Society, the authors conclude that the monument is too early (*c.* 1430) and of insufficiently high quality to be that of the prince. The coats of arms suggest that it was erected for a Neville, probably Ralph, son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury. Dodsworth's and Torre's notes on the church are illustrated and discussed. The authors have combed many sources and collected a variety of apposite illustrations, though the photographs have reproduced better than the drawings and manuscripts. These booklets, designed by the authors, make an attractive set, of which *A Ryther Legacy* is perhaps the best.

The Parish Registers of St. Mary, Bishophill Junior, York. 1813-1837 York Family History Society, Publications 5, 1981. pp. iv + 124 incl. 1 pl. £2.50.

This booklet of transcripts made by members of the York Family History Society supplements Vol. 52 of the Y.A.S. Parish Register Section, which ends in 1812. It is hoped to follow it by similar supplements for St. Lawrence's parish and the Bedern. Members are now indexing the Dean and Chapter Marriage Bonds and Allegations for future publication. The genealogist and local historian will esteem this as valuable work, though within the capabilities of a voluntary amateur group. The parish extended beyond the city walls of York to Copmanthorpe and Poppleton. Numbers baptised, married and buried in a year can average 75, 15 and 30 respectively. The indices of names (including some 1600 different surnames), of occupations and places must be the result of many hours of patient work. The 136 occupations listed range from the rare artist, coach inspector, oat sheller and whipper-in to foxhounds to the much commoner cowkeeper, joiner, shoemaker and tailor. Over 100 places in York and 90 outside the city are represented in these 25 years of registers.

P. V. ADDYMAN (Ed.), *The Archaeology of York,* London: Council for British Archaeology for York Archaeological Trust 1981. £6·50.
16/2. The Pottery: J. R. Perrin
Roman Pottery from the Colonia: Skeldergate and Bishophill

This is the third and longest fascicule in the series covering the 1973-75 excavations. Previous reports dealt with the excavations and the small finds, so it is a major contribution presenting much of the detailed dating evidence upon which the archaeological interpretations depend.

The selection and treatment of the pottery conforms admirably to the principles advocated recently by the Study Group for Romano-British Pottery (1). The arrangement is thoughtful, the contents thorough, the illustrations uncluttered and well presented and the proof-reading excellent. After a brief introduction combining the general archaeological background with a guide to the layout of the report, the main text is divided into two, the first part comprises a series of discussions on all aspects of the pottery, the longer second part is the basic catalogue.

The longest contribution to the discussion section, which is not available elsewhere, is a detailed appraisal of the pottery dating evidence. Due to the somewhat unsatisfactory nature of the stratification as a result of later disturbance, the interpretation of the site was impaired and no conclusive dating evidence was produced for all phases. Some independent evidence for the construction of the Skeldergate well has been provided by C.14 dates from the well-preserved timbers.

On the Bishophill site, interest centred on the date when the area was terraced and three ranges of buildings erected. Alternative dates put forward by various scholars for political events in the history of Roman York appropriate to this type of ambitious town development are AD 200, 209-11 and 237. Using comparative material from Corbridge and Carpow, Perrin favours a date between AD 180 and 200 for the deposition of the terrace pottery, since he assesses it as earlier than the Severan occupation at Carpow, AD 209-11, and later than Corbridge destruction, currently dated AD 180. In the catalogue, faced by the inconclusive nature of the pottery, a wider date range of late second or early third century is given. The considerable proportion of colour-coated wares coupled with the limited and uninspired range of forms and fabrics, apparently the result of the deadening effect of the Black Burnished Ware industry on its competitors, could be considered at least as characteristic of the early years of the third as of the late second century. In any case, the date of the terrace pottery needs bear little relationship to the actual date of its final deposition at Bishophill and hence to the construction of the buildings. Later robbing has made the establishment of a chronological framework for the occupation of the buildings impossible since there are no stratified deposits. The date of occupation can only be inferred from the range of later material recovered from the site.

All major aspects of pottery study and interpretation are covered by the remaining topics. The main forms and fabrics represented in the report are discussed and their implications for the chronology of the sites in particular and the development of Roman York in general considered. Finally, there is a reasoned assessment of the validity of the methods of quantification and the statisitical analysis undertaken which is thought-provoking.

The catalogue is the most long-lasting part of any pottery report since it presented the basic evidence which should not be subjected to the same upheavals caused by advancing knowledge of fashion as is the interpretation. Here, where possible, the pottery is presented in its stratified chronological groupings, within each site. Unfortunately, only about one-third is from useful contexts, the remaining two-thirds being a selection of the most complete examples from the range of different potteries represented. The extended section on the definition and dating of 'Eboracum Ware' thus achieved is particularly useful, but much of the later material is predictable and may eventually be rendered obsolete when better provenanced late pottery is published. Without the unstratified material, the pottery from Skeldergate and Bishophill could scarcely have supported treatment as a separate fascicule and this appears to be even more true of the small finds.

The editorial decision to subject the Skeldergate and Bishophill sites to a threefold division of publication is open to criticism on the grounds that neither the archaeology nor the finds were sufficiently important to warrant such extended treatment. However, as it stands, the pottery report is excellent, and its presentation is of the same high standard as previous publications.

(1). *Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Inspectorate*
Occasional Paper No. 4—'Guidelines for the Processing and Publication of Roman Pottery from Excavations' editor C. J. Young (1980).

The British Museum.

VALERY RIGBY.

The following books have also been received; it is hoped to review these in a future volume.

R. M. BUTLER, *Medieval York,* Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society with Sessions Book Trust, York 1982. 24pp, 16 ills. £1.

B. J. D. Harrison and G. Dixon (eds.), *Guisborough before 1900,* G. Dixon, 13, Farndale Drive, Guisborough, 1981, pp. 270, pl. 25, figs. 13,

R. P. Hastings, *Poverty and the Poor Law in the North Riding of Yorkshire, c. 1780-1837,* (University of York: Borthwick Papers no. 61, 1982), pp. 42, figs. 1. £1 + 20p. p. and p.

J. McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire, 1066-1830,* (Borthwick Papers no. 60, 1981), pp. 42, figs. 3. £1 + 20p. p. and p.

A. MacGregor, *Anglo-Scandinavian Finds from Lloyds Bank, Pavement and Other Sites (The Archaeology of York* 17/3), Council for British Archaeology, 1982, pp. 108, pls. 4, figs. 48. £6.50.

K. MILLER, J. ROBINSON, B. ENGLISH and I. HALL, *Beverley, an archaeological and architectural study,* Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) with Humberside Leisure Services Dept, HMSO London 1982. pp. viii + 96, figs. 12, pl. 13, 2 maps in pocket. £7.50.

P. F. RYDER, *Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire,* South Yorkshire County Council, Recreation, Culture and Health Department, Barnsley 1982. pp. iii + 126, figs. 73, pl. 10. £1.85.

R. N. Swanson, *A Calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, 1398-1408, Pt. 1,* (Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 1981), pp. x + 148. £5.50 + 45p. p. and p.

R. W. Unwin, *Search Guide to the English Land Tax,* West Yorkshire County Council, 1982, pp. 28, figs. 6. £2.50.

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY

1981

Compiled by Mrs. A. M. Rutherford

This bibliography contains articles in Yorkshire periodicals on the history and archaeology of Yorkshire, and the record and other publications of Yorkshire societies and institutions, noted since the 'Yorkshire Bibliography, 1980' (*Y.A.J.* 1981), excluding articles in the Yorkshire archaeological Journal itself.
A few relevant items from non-Yorkshire local and specialist periodicals have been included, but no attempt has been made to list articles in national periodicals. These may be traced in British Humanities Index, and more selectively, but with some foreign material, in the Antiquaries Journal List of 'Periodical Literature'.

The abbreviations used are as in *Y.A.J.* 53, pp. 145-6, with the addition of;

DA	The Doncaster Ancestor (Doncaster Society for Family History).
FYAT	Friends of York Archaeological Trust Annual Report.
HAST	Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions.
HBLSS	Hebden Bridge Literary and Scientific Society, Local History Section Booklets
HR & DLHS	Hutton Rudby and District Local History Society Occasional Pamphlets.
OWR	Old West Riding.
SHS LHS	Saddleworth Historical Society, Local History Series.
WYHN	West Yorkshire History Newsletter (For The Record), West Yorks. County Record Office.
WYCRO	West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council. County Record Office Report.
YH	York History.
YDS	Yorkshire Dialect Society Transactions.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Ai) ACCESSIONS.

A1 Accessions to Family History Group library. DA 1(3) 1981, 66-68.

A2 Acquisitions. WHS YB nos. 38, 39, 1981, 23-32, 16-24. Items 1293-1453.

A3 Archive additions. DA 1(3) 1981, 55.

A4 CANT, R. E. & BARR, C.B.L. The Library FYM no. 52, 1981, 21-23 (York Minster).

A5 County Record Office: accessions. WYHN no. 3, 1981, 3-4.

A6 Five Brontë drawings return to the Parsonage. BST 18(1) 1981, 25-27 (includes portrait of Anne).

A7 CLEVELAND COUNTY ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT. Principal accessions, January - December 1981. C & TLHSN 7, 1981, 7.

A8 List of accessions. NYCROP 27 (J1.8) 1981, 6-25.

A9 List of accessions 1980. With HAST 1980 (In 'Report and Accounts' [9]).

A10 Listings, surveys and accessions. WYCRO 1979-80, 1-19; 1980-81, 1-20.

A11 News from the South Yorkshire Country Record Office. FS 3(1) 1981, 10-11 (Microfilms of Bishops' Transcripts and Non-parochial Registers).

A12 SMITH, DAVID M. Accessions and work on the archives. BI Bull 2 (3) 1981, 132, 133, 138-9.

See also U8

aii) TRANSCRIPTIONS AND FACSIMILES OF SOURCE MATERIAL.

A13 ASHCROFT, M. Y. and HILL, Audrey M. eds. & transcr. Bilsdale Surveys 1637-1851. NYCROP 23. 1980 (Duncombe Park estate records incl. 1851 Census).

A14 BUCKLEY, Michael. Saddleworth Records: part 4 - The Beaumonts of Whitley collection. SHS Bull 11 (2) 1981, 29-36 (Ramsden, de Stavely, Mallalieu etc).

A15 BULLEN, Roy. The enrolment lists of the Loyal Independent Sheffield Volunteers. FS 3 (1) 1981, 20-21; 3 (2) 1981, 41-42.

A16 HARDWICK, G. Monumental inscriptions. YAS FHPSS 7 (2) 1981, 110.

A17 HOLCOMBE, Adele M. and ASHCROFT, M. Y. John Sell Cotman in the Cholmeley archive. NYCROP 22. 1980.

A18 B.H.N. The belles of Harwood. YAS LHS no. 21, 1981, 6-8. (Foljambe papers, 1779).

A19 SALMON, D. J. ed. Malton in the early nineteenth century. NYCROP 26. 1981 (William C. Copperthwaite's 'Statistics of the town and parishes of Malton' compiled in the 1840s).

A20 Sheffield Hearth Tax returns for Ladyday 1672, FS 3 (1, 2) 1981, 24-5, 46-7.

A21 Two items from York records. Blanc S 15 (3) 1981, 14-16. (Two unpublished items concerning Richard III).

A22 WHITTAKER, E. Jean. A seventeenth century flora of Cumbria. William Nicholson's Catalogue of Plants, 1680. SSP 193, for 1980, 1981.

A23 YEWDALL, Mr. Free rents of Idle for one year (part 1) YAS FHPSS 7 (2) 1981, 117-118.

A24 Yorkshire strays. YAS FHPSS 7 (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) 1981, 93, 110-111, 125-6 (ROUNCE), 138, 154 (DONALDSON), 168-8 (HARDING and DONALDSON).

See also E24; U10, 31.

Aiii) BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A25 ALLISON, K. J. 'Hull Gent. seeks country residence' 1750-1850. EYLHS 36. 1981 (ownership and occupancy of houses around Hull in 18th & 19th cents. incl. gazetteer).
A26 Books and pamphlets; periodical articles. EYLHS Bull 24, 1981, 6-11 (material relating to East Yorkshire)
A27 Buildings nos 635-724, recorded up to 21 March 1981, List 7. NYCVSBG no. 9, 1981, 6-7.
A28 CROSS, Gilbert B. A. Brontë reading list 1981. BST 18 (1) 1981, 43-5.
A29 Gifts and other additions to the Museum and Library. BST 18 (1) 1981, 64-7.
A30 Index to Transactions 1979, 1980. with HAST 1980.
A31 Index to volume 10. SHS Bull 11 (1) 1981 [23-7].
A32 [OLIVER, Eric] The records of the peculiar jurisdiction of Acomb BI Bull 2 (3) 1981, 155-168 (marriage bonds, 1714-1863, probate records, 1456-1837.
A33 PALGRAVE, Derek A. ed. Prominent families in Doncaster Deanery. DA 1 (3) 1981, 59-65. (pedigrees recorded by Rev. Joseph Hunter).
A34 Parish registers deposited in Doncaster Archives Dept. Other sources for family history in Doncaster Archives Dept. Bishops' Transcripts available on microfilm at Bentley. DA 1(1) 1980, 26-28, 31.
A35 Register of local history research in progress. Pt. 2. EYLHS Bull 24, 1981, 4. (East Yorkshire history).
A36 SMITH, D. M. The archives of the Earl of Halifax. BI Bull 2 (3) 1981, 141-154 (brief introduction and summary lists).
A37 Sources in Cleveland County Archives Dept. Part 2. CFHSJ 1(2) 1980, 40-44.
A38 SWANSON, R. N. A calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, 1398-1405. Part 1. BTC 8. 1981.
A39 Useful articles in other Societies' journals. FS 3(2) 1981, 34.
A40 York Deanery causes and acts books. BI Bull 2(3) 1981, 169-175 (Allerton, Allerthorpe and many others).

Aiv) DESCRIPTIONS OF LIBRARIES AND COLLECTIONS.

A41 CANT, R. E. and BARR, C. B. L. The library. FYM 52, 1981, 21-25 (York Minster).
A42 MACQUIBAN, Tim. Name indexes in Doncaster Archives Department. DA 1(3) 1981, 57.
A43 Newcastle Mining Library's uncertain future. CIA Newsl. 21, 1981, 4.
A44 The University Archive. Lds UR 170, Feb 27, 1981, 4.
See also S5.

B ARCHAEOLOGY.

B1 ALEXANDER, Ann. A collection of stones YAS MS [10, 1981] 5-6 (Boundary stones in Yorkshire.)
B2 ARMITAGE, J. H. Thwaite Mills. JLS 1(2) 1980, 45-49.
B3 ARMSTRONG, Peter. Excavations in Scale Lane, Lowgate, 1974. ERA 6, 1980, 1-98 (Hull Old Town Report Series, no. 4)
B4 BROADBENT, Stanley. Interim report on the Manor Farm well dig, Shelderslow. SHS Bull 11 (1) 1981, 18-20.
B5 Bursea/Hasholme; Welton Road, Brough; Weighton Lane, Bromfleet; Lurk Lane, Beverley. ERAS News 10, 1981, 6-8. (Summary reports on field-walking and excavation).
B6 CRAWFORD, G. M. and VYNER, B. E. The excavations at the Street House Long Cairn, Loftus. YAS PS no. 18, 1980, [6-7]
B7 Excavations at Brough, 1980, ERAS News 8, 1980, 1-3.
B8 Harewood Church - excavations by Leeds University Department of Archaeology. Lds UR 183, nov 27, 1981, 9.
B9 S. J. A late Saxon iron scramasax from Butcher Row, Beverley. ERAS News 9, 1981, 3-5.
B10 MANBY, T. G. Yorkshire prehistory in the 1970s. YAS PS no. 18, 1980 [3-4].
B11 MAYES, P. and HAYFIELD, C. A late mediaeval pottery kiln at Holme-on-Spalding Moor. ERA 6, 1980, 99-113.
B12 MIDDLESBROUGH MUSEUM SERVICE. In commemoration of Frank Elgee, archaeologist. YAS PS no. 18, 1980 [1-3].
B13 NORMAN, Prof. A. F. Rambles and thoughts on Roman East Yorkshire. ERAS News 8, 1981, 14-16. (Antonine Itinerary, Iter Primum; Rudston Venus; mosaic patterns in Humber area).
B14 PHILLIPS, Dr. P. A. The last decade in implement petrology in Yorkshire YAS PS no. 18, 1980 [4].
B15 PICKLES, May and ALEXANDER, Ann. The Yorkshire Boundary Project. YAS MS [10, 1981], 4-5.
B16 RILEY, Dr. D. N. Archaeological air photography in Yorkshire in the 1970s. YAS PS no. 18, 1980 [5-6].
See also S5

C PLACE NAMES.

C1 REDMONDS, George. Mill Sands, a West Riding field name. OWR 1(2) 1981, 27 (Almondbury)

D POLITICS.

E SOCIAL AND GENERAL HISTORY.

E1 ARMITAGE, J. H. Other days and other ways. YAS IHS no. 13, 1981, 10-12.
E2 ASTIN, Geoff and Liz. Mediaeval inns: old Queen's Head, Sheffield. Blanc S 16 (1) 1981, 7-10.
E3 BARNES, Bernard. The flint implements controversy. SHS Bull 11 (2, 3) 1981, 23-29, 56-62.
E4 BROOKE, A. J. The working class of Saddleworth in the Industrial Revolution. SHS Bull 11 (1) 1981, 9-18. Sedition and surveillance in Saddleworth in 1801 and 1812. SHS Bull 11 (3) 1981, 51-56.
E5 The constables in the upper Calder Valley in the 17th and 18th centuries. HBLSS 1, 1981, 6-13.

E6 DENT, A. A. The Lyke Wake dirge and Guisborough. C & TLHS Bull no. 40, 41, 1981, 8-12, 1-3.
E7 DEWHIRST, Ian. The northward march of a West York militiaman during the Napoleonic Wars. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 19, 29 (David Greenwood of Steeton).
E8 FARRAR, Peter N. Hull's new army 1914. JLS 1 (2) 1981, 32-39.
E9 GOLDTHORP, Leslie M. Child labour in the local textile mills. HBLSS 2, 1981 13-22.
E10 GOODMAN, A. R. Response to requests in Yorkshire for military service under Henry V. NH 17, 1981, 240-252.
E11 GOULD, Peter, The letter-carriers. YAS FHPSS 7 (1) 1981, 98-9.
E12 HARLAND, R. S. A short history of rural water in Craven. NYCROP 27 (Jl 8) 1981, 125-7.
E13 HARRISON, Mabel F. Personal experience. JLS 1 (2) 1981, 40-43 (Mills etc. in Yeadon in the 1930s).
E14 HASTINGS, R. P. Rudby in Cleveland: local government and society circa 1600-1900. HR & DLHS Occasional Paper 5. 1981.
E15 HAY, T. T. The Duke's Railway: details of the Duke of Portland's railway in S. W. Scotland and similarities with later railways in N.E. England. CIA News 23, 1981, 7-9.
E16 HUNTING, Rev. R. J. The Waterhead colliers. SHS Bull 11 (3) 1981, 45-9.
E17 HUSH, E. Pawnbroking. C & TLHS Bull 41, 1981, 21-5 (special ref. to Middlesbrough).
E18 JAMES, A. James Moxon and the Yorkshireman YH no. 5 [1981] (a newspaper).
E19 JEWELL, Helen. Christian names popular in the West Riding in the mid-14th century. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 30.
E20 KERSHAW, I. A note on the Scots in the West Riding, 1318-1319. NH 17, 1981, 231-9.
E21 The Literary and Scientific Society. HBLSS 1, 1980, 31-2.
E22 LEONARD, J. W. Local History today: 1) the Blake Committee. C & TLHSN 7, 1981, 10-14.
E23 PALGRAVE, Derek A. The origins of the Doncaster Society for Family History. DA 1 (1) 1980, 3-4.
E24 PERRY, J. The transportation of felons to America 1717 - 1775: some North Riding quarter sessions records. NYCROP 27 (Jl 8) 1981, 65-117.
E25 PICKLES, Walter and KERROD, Norman. 'Pratty Flowers' - a Yorkshire mystery. SHS Bull 11 (2) 1981, 37-40 (origins of the Yorkshire ballad).
E26 PLEWS, D. Some herbs used by a seventeenth century physician now planted in Temple Newsam gardens. YAS LHS no. 21, 1981, 3-6. (re Day Prescription Book of Dr. Nathaniel Johnston of Pontefract, 1642 - 1685).
E27 ROUTH, Pauline. Ex Libris. . . . Blanc S 15 (3) 1981, 10-13 (Atthill's 'Church of Middleham' - associated papers).
E28 SPENCER, Colin. The Overseers of the Poor 'from the cradle to the grave'. HBLSS 2, 1981, 23-32 (Heptonstall).
E29 STEAD, Jennifer. Ringing Adam Bells. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 35-6 (Huddersfield game).
E30 STEAD, Jennifer with SAUL, Arthur. The uses of urine. Part 1. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 12-18. (many Yorkshire references).
E31 THOMAS, Doreen. John Walker, social and pharmaceutical facts from his day-book. C & TLHS Bull 41, 1981, 15-20. (Stockton chemist, inventor of friction matches).
E32 The township system of local government. HBLSS 1, 1980, 3-5.
E33 UNWIN, R. W. Tradition and transition: market towns in the Vale of York 1660-1830. NH17, 1981, 72-116.
See also A25; G6; H3; K5, 7; R1, U12, 33, 37.

F MEDICAL HISTORY.

F1 STOUT, Dr. G. Enteric fever in the Tees Valley - 1890-91. C & TLHS Bull 40, 1981, 30-38.
See also U22; 27.

G DEMOGRAPHY AND GENEALOGY.

G1 ALEXANDER ? MACQUIBAN, Timothy S. The history and development of parish registers. DA 1 (1) 1980, 11-18.
G2 LAMBERT, David. Solicitors' probate files. YAS FHPSS 7 (1) 1981, 99-100.
G3 LITTON, Pauline M. What's in a name? YAS FHPSS 7 (3) 1981, 128-130 (importance of variant spellings).
G4 OWSTON, Timothy S. Farm archives - or advantages of on the spot research. YAS FHPSS 6(6) 1980, 16-17 (Colby).
G5 PHILLIPS, Adrian. Telephone directories YHS FHPSS 7 (4) 1981, 144-5.
G6 ROBINSON, Lilian. Buried treasure. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 36-7.
G7 ROBSON, Mary. Records of the poor. FS3 (2) 1981, 37-41 (Lecture by Mrs. Turner of Sheffield City Libraries Archives Dept).
G8 SHORT, C. M. Family history in Ireland. FS 3 (2) 1981, 35-37 (related to large no. of people of Irish descent in Sheffield).
G9 TYACK, F. G. Pedigree diagrams. FS 3 (1) 1981, 13-20.
G10 WATTS, Christopher T. Solicitors' records and the family historian YAS FHPSS 7/8 (6) 1981, 173-4.
See also A42.

H BIOGRAPHY AND FAMILY HISTORY (arranged in alphabetical order of subject's surname).

H1 PERKINS, John P. Bramall FS3 (1) 1981, 21-23 (Bramall family of Oughtibridge and Bradford).
H2 FEARNEHOUGH, Joseph. Life and recollections of Joseph Fearnehough March 1898. FS 3 (2) 1981, 43-5 (saw manufacturers).
H3 H. S. John Goodchild (Brief biographies, no. 3) YAS LHS no. 21, 1981, 1-2.

H4 HORSMAN, Eric M. My successful search for ancestry YAS FHPSS 7 (1) 1981, 95-8.
H5 PEACOCK, A. J. George Hudson and the historians, 4. YH no. 5 [1981] 262-3.
H6 CLISSOLD, I. George Hudson and the historians, 5. YH no. 5 [1981] 271.
H7 GULLIVER, R. L. Henry Ibbotson 1814 - 1886 YH no. 5 [1981].
H8 HORNSBY, Mrs. Josephine. Some work and family details of Edward Latham, a 19th century Wakefield master builder and monumental mason. YAS FHPSS 7 (3, 4) 1981, 126-8, 141-3. (rebuilder of Wakefield Cathedral spire).
H9 CARLESS Rev. F. H. C. McCrea - Victorian entrepreneur extraordinary HAST 1980, 11-17.
H10 MACQUIBAN, Tim S. A. A prince among preachers: a short biography of William Morley Punshon. WHS YUB no. 39, 1981, 2-7.
H11 J.I.W. A peaceable possession. FYM 52, 1981, 33-4 (Dean Purey-Cust).
H12 POLLARD, Marjorie. A Raw deal! YAS FHPSS 7 (5) 1981, 159-60.
H13 RICHMOND, Keith C. Alexander Bailey Richmond (fl. 1809-1836) RSS no. 10, 1981, 11-13.
H14 HOWARD, Iva. An eighteenth century botanist in Chapel Allerton YHS LHS no. 21, 1981, 8-11. (Richard Anthony Salisbury, a founder member of the Royal Horticultural Society).
H15 METCALF, Sheila. The notorious Seymour. C & TLHS Bull 41, 1981, 4-14 (William White Collins Seymour of Middlesbrough).
H16 WOLEDGE, Henry. Rekindling the sparks of Spencer. YHS FHPSS 7 (4) 1981, 143-4 (Thomas Spencer, co-founder of Marks and Spencer).
H17 WHITEHOUSE, J. R. Thomas Thompson - shipowner. CLHSJ 5, 27, 1981, 203-5.
H18 BARRY, Richard H. The President of the Cottingham Local History Society, John R. Whitehouse, 1913-1981. CLHSJ 5, 29, 1981, 218-9. (obituary).
See also A14, 17, 36; E7, 11, 18; G4; K2; L3; U18.

J HERALDRY

J1 GEE, Olive M. and GEE, Eric. Symbols and heraldry in the choir stalls in York Minster. FYM 52, 1981, 26-32.
J2 MURRAY, Hugh and O'CONNOR, David E. The heraldic window in Young's Hotel. Petergate, York. YH no. 5 1981 216-24.

K RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

K1 ADDY, John. Archbishop Neile's primary visitation of the Huddersfield district 1663. OWR 1 (2) 1981.
K2 CAMPEY, L. H. The saving of William the Breton's soul. C & TLHSN 7, 1981, 8-9.
K3 CHAPMAN, Mrs. E. V. Two hundred years of Sunday Schools. HAST 1980, 1-10.
K4 The churchwardens of the chapelry of Heptonstall. HBLSS 1, 1980, 14-19.
K5 DEWS, D. C. Nonconformity in Morley. WHS YB no. 38, 1981, 10-18.
K6 DEWS, D. Colin. A Dewsbury Wesleyan's year: the diary of William J. Rhodes for 1878. YAS FHPSS 7 (2) 1981, 116-7.
K7 GENTLES, Prof. I. J. and SHEILS, W. J. Confiscation and restoration: the archbishopric estates and the Civil War. BP 59. 1981.
K8 GRIGS, Mrs. Margaret. Undercliffe cemetery - Quakers. YHS FHPSS 7 (4) 1981, 145-6. (Bradford).
K9 HEMPTON, D. N. Bickersteth, Bishop of Ripon: the episcopate of a mid-Victorian evangelical. NH 17, 1981, 183-202.
K10 MOODY, C. Richard. 'I name thee . . .' WHS YB no. 39, 1981, 8-11. (Methodist manse, chapel and street names).
K11 WENHAM, L. P. The dissolution of St. Agatha's Abbey, Easby, 1536. NYCROP 27 (J18) 1981, 33-64.
See also H10; U27

L EDUCATION.

L1 MORAN, J. Hoeppner. Literacy and education in Northern England 1350-1550. NH 17, 1981, 1-23.
L2 PEACOCK, A. J. Adult education in York, 1800-1947. YH no. 5 [1981] 225-262.
L3 WHITEHOUSE, John. Mark Kirby and Cottingham Free School CLHS no. 5. 1980.

M HISTORY OF ART

M1 ROUTH, Pauline. Lord Welles and his Methley monument. Blanc S. 16 (1) 1981, 24, 28.
M2 SIDEY, Tessa. Van Dyck's portrait of Albert de Ligne, Prince of Arenberg and Barbancon. YAGP 33, 124, 1981.
M3 WELLS-COLE, Anthony. fifty years of new ceramics in Leeds. Lds AC 87, 1981, 21-30.
See also A17; U39.

N LITERARY HISTORY.

N1 ALEXANDER, Dr. Christine. Recent research on Charlotte Brontë's juvenilia. BST 18 (1) 1981, 15-24.
N2 BEER, Patricia. Charlotte Brontë and Currer Bell. BST 18 (1) 1981, 1-14.
N3 A portrait of Lydia Robinson? BST 18 (1), 1981, 28-9.
N4 ROUSSEAU, Kathleen G. The lyric visualisation in 'Wuthering Heights': selected passages. BST 18 (1) 1981, 30-35.
N5 SMITH, K. E. Ben Preston in his time and ours YDS 14, 80, 1980, 34-46 (19th century Bradford).
See A6, 28, 29.

O LINGUISTIC HISTORY.
O1 ELLIS, Stanley. Huddersfield and Yorkshire dialect. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 23-25.
O2 MACMAHON, M. K. C. A glimpse of Beverley dialect in the early 18th century. YDS 14, 80, 1980, 7-33.
O3 PATCHETT, J. H. The dialect of Upper Calderdale. YDS 15, 81, 1981, 24-37.
O4 SELLERS, Cedric. Barnsley dialect in evidence. YDS 15, 81, 11-23 (re Oaks colliery disaster 1866).

P ECONOMIC HISTORY
See also E4.

Q BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY.
Q1 Early industries of the Upper Calder Valley. HBLSS 1, 1980, 20-26.
Q2 Daniel Doncaster and Sons Limited - a brief history. FS3 (1) 1981, 11-12 (Sheffield, file making).
Q3 GOODCHILD, John, Caphouse Colliery meet report. NMRS News. Aug. 1980, 6-7 (Flockton and Shitlington).
Q4 GOODCHILD, J. Notes on the development of the Elsecar Colliery area. NMRS Nov. 1980, 7-8.
Q5 GOODCHILD, John. Spring End: the earliest well-documented West Riding scribbling mill. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 20-22 (Ossett-cum-Gawthorpe).
Q6 HOLROYDE, H. Power technology in the Halifax textile industry 1770-1850. HAST 1980, 63-75.
Q7 HUNT, J. M. John Rooth and Co., Carriers on the Huddersfield Canal. SHS Bull 11 (1) 1981, 1-6.
Q8 MATTHEWS, J. A. D. The Hunnings micro-telephone. YH no. 5 [1981] 266-8 (Hunnings was curate at Bolton Percy).
Q9 NMRS RECORDS. The mines of Grassington Moor and Wharfedale. BM no. 13. 1980.
Q10 NORTCLIFFE, D. The first iron bridge? A preliminary report on the Kirklees Iron Bridge of 1769 and its builder. Ind. Past 7 (1) 1980, 14-17 (Maurice Tobin).
Q11 OWEN, John. Jetting. CIA News. 21, 1981.
See also E13, 15; H2, 5, 6, 17; U21, 27.

R AGRICULTURAL HISTORY.
R1 HASTINGS, R. P. The revolt of the field in the North Riding of Yorkshire. NYCROP 27 (Jl 8) 1981, 118-124.
R2 McDONNELL, J. Inland fisheries in mediaeval Yorkshire, 1066-1300. BP60. 1981.
R3 REDMOND, George Marling. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 26-7.

S ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.
Si) ARCHITECTS.
S1 Chippendale's Harewood commission. YGS 1981, 22-3.
S2 NATTRASS, Mrs. T. M. The architect of St. Peter's Church, Yarm Road, Stockton-on-Tees, built 1881. C & TLHS News 8, 1981, 12-14 (Eugene E. Clephan).
Sii) PLACES. See U.
Siii) GENERAL.
S3 BOAL, Alexander. Railway architecture. YGS 1981, 25-9.
S4 BROWN, Pat. Protecting historic buildings. YGS 1981, 5-6 (work of Yorkshire Historic Buildings Subcommittee of YGS)
S5 HUTTON, Barbara. Some Yorkshire scarf-joints. VA 12, 1981, 30-37.
S6 KIRK, Frank. Yorkshire Buildings Preservation Trust. YGS 1981, 8.
S7 RECKITT, Mrs. Olga and KETCHELL, Chris. Conservation: representatives' reports. EYLHS Bull 24, 1981, 3-4 (Driffield, Nafferton, Bridlington, Hull).

T TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

U LOCAL HISTORY (incorporating Sii) items, which are marked ★(ACOMB See A3 ALMONDBURY. See C1.
U1 WILKS, Brenda. Local legends, or, the quest for Thomas Portington Blanc S 15 (2) 1981, 3-6 (BARNBY(.
BARNSLEY. See 04.
U2 The Close, Beverley. in YGS 9181, 34-36★. See also B5, 9; 02.
BILSDALE. See A13. BOLTON PERCY. See Q8.
U3 REDMONDS, George. Tong Street. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 31-4 (BRADFORD) See also K8; N4.
BRANDSBY. See A17.
U4 Bridlington. in YGS 1981, 34-64★. See also S7. Broomfield. See B5.
BROUGH. See B5, 7. BURSEA. SEE B5.
U5 Busby Hall, Carlton-in-Cleveland, in YGS 1981, 34-64★.
CALDERDALE. See E5; 03; Q1. CASTLE HOWARD. See H7. CHAPEL ALLERTON See. H14.
U6 Copt Hewick. in YGS 1981, 24-64★ U7 Cotesque Park. in YGS 1981, 34-64★.
U7 Drainage, kerbing and channelling. CLHJ 5, 28, 1981, 215-216. (COTTINGHAM).
U8 WHITEHOUSE, John. The choir vestry in St. Mary's Church. CLHJ 5, 28, 1981, 213-215.
See also H17, 18; L3.
U9 HATCHER, Jane. Crakehill corn water mill. Ind. Past 8 (1) 1981, 17-18. CRAVEN. See E12. DEWSBURY. See K6. DONCASTER. See A1, 3, 33, 34, 42, E23 EASBY. See K11.

U10 GILES, Colum. Nell Hall, Elland: the story of a Pennine gentry house from *c.* 1490 to the mid-19th century. OWR 1 (2) 1981, 1-11 Savile family).*

ELSECAR. See Q4. FLOCKTON and SHITLINGTON. See Q3.

U11 Fulford. in YGS 1981, 34-64.*

GRASSINGTON. See Q9. GUISBOROUGH. See E6.

U12 WEBSTER, Eric. Halifax at the Great Exhibition 1851. HAST 1980, 18-26.
See also A9, 3; H9; K3; Q6.

HAREWOOD. See A18; B8; S1. HAWORTH. SEE A6, 2, 2; N1-4. HEBDEN BRIDGE. See E9, 21.
HEPTONSTALL. See E28; K4. HOLME upon SPALDING MOOR. See B11.

U13 Hovingham Hall and Howden. in YGS 1981, 34-64.*

HUDDERSFIELD. See E29; K1; 01; Q7. HULL. See A2; B3; E8. HUTTON RUDBY. See E14.
IDLE. See A2.

U14 ALBUT, K. Ilkley. NYCVBSG 9, 1981, 10.*

U15 Jervaulx Abbey and Kilvington Hall. in YGS 1981, 34-64.*

U16 BUDGE, Adrian. New light on old interiors. Lds AC 89, 1981, 14-21 (Temple Newsam, Leeds).

U17 HILL, David. Archives and archaeology at Temple Newsam House. Lds AC 89, 1981, 22-32.* See also A2; H16; M3.

U18 COCKERILL, Arthur and O'REGAN, Mary. Lead St. Mary: the families. Blanc S 16 (1) 1981, 19-22. (Tyas and Scargill families).

U19 Mason, Kate. Leyburn. NYCVBSG 9, 1981, 10.*

LOFTUS. See B6. MALTON. See A19. METHLEY. See M1. MIDDLEHAM. See E27.

U20 PATTENDEN, D. W. Horticulture in mid-19th century Middlesbrough C & TLHS Bull 40, 1981, 21-9.

U21 PATTENDEN, D. W. Joseph Pearce and the owners of the Middlesbrough estate. C & TLHS Bull 41, 1981, 26-31.

U22 STOUT, Dr. G. Accidents at the early ironworks in Middlesbrough C & TLHS News. 8, 1981, 9-10.
See also A7, 3; E17; H15.

U23 Middlethorpe Hall. in YGS 1981, 34-64.* morley. see K5.

U24 GLEDHILL, Bob. Cragg Road - a Turnpike Trust. HBLSS 2, 1981, 3-12 (Mytholmroyd).

U24 HELLIEWELL, Fred. Mytholmroyd Bridge. HBLSS 1, 1980, 27-30.
newcastle. see A.

U25 BARLEY, K. M. NIDDERDALE. NYCVBSG 9, 1981, 11.*

NORTH YORKSHIRE. See A8, 27.

U26 Nun Monkton Priory and the Red House, Moor Monkton. in YGS 1981, 34-64.*

OSSETT cum GAWTHORPE. See Q5.

U27 WENHAM, L. P. HATCHER, C. J. A Richmond miscellany. NYCROP 25, 1980 (Richmond Mills, St. Nicholas Hospital, Bichy Bank copper mine, the anchoress of Richmond).

U28 ELLIS, E. Ripon. NYCVBSG 9, 1981, 9.*

U29 Ripon cottages. in YGS 1981, 24-64.* See also K9. RUDSTON. See B13.

U30 B.B. Old Saddleworth: Ballgreave; Stones, Stoneswood; Dale. SHS Bull 11 (1, 2, 3) 1981, 20-22; 40-44; 63-64.

U31 BARNES, Bernard. Passage through time: Saddleworth roads and trackways SHS LHS 2. 1981. Se also A14, 3; B4; 16, 25.

U32 Scampston Hall. in YGS 1981, 34-64.*

SHEFFIELD. See A11, 15, 20; E2; H2; Q2.

U33 BARRETT, F. Local government in Shelf from 1700 to 1937. Pt. 2 HAST 980, 37-62.

U34 GEORGE, A. D. Soweby Bridge - a case study in urban change. YAS IHS no. 13, 1981, 8-9.

STOCKTON. See E31; S2.

U35 WATSON, J. M. Tees and Greta. NYCVBSG 9, 1981, 8.*

U36 Thirsk Hall and Upsall Castle. in YGS 1981, 34-64.*

THWAITE. See B2. WAKEFIELD. See A5; H8. YEADON. See E13.

U37 ATTREED, Lorraine C. The kings interest: York's fee farm and the central government, 1482-92. NH 17, 1981, 24-43.

U38 Coney St., York. in YGS 1981, 34-64.*

U39 GIBSON, Peter. The York Glazier's Trust, 1967-1981. FYM 1981, 35-41.

U40 TOLHURST, T. York. NYCVBSG 9, 1981, 12.* See also A4, 12, 21, 38, 40, 41; E18; H5, 6, 11; J1, 2; L2; M2.

V NUMISMATICS.

W HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY.

W1 MOORHOUSE, Stephen. The medieval landscape. ERAS News. no. 8, 1981, 11-14.

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER: 1981

COMPILED BY PERCIVAL TURNBULL FOR C.B.A. GROUP 4

PREHISTORIC

ALLERSTON (Warren House) SE 8769 8471
A Neolithic stone axe was found by the landowner and is retained by him.

BALDERSBY SE 3631 7524
Flint blades, flakes, scrapers and waste found (P. Chadwick).

BARNINGHAM: Barningham Moor.
Recent fieldwork by T. C. Laurie has revealed an extensive system of prehistoric settlement and field-systems, which are all considered together, although the evidence overlaps boundaries.

NZ 0572 0770 to 0613 0765 Settlement on terrace at base of scarp below How Tallon Ridge. Seven enclosures each with circular stone founded huts.

NZ 0585 0840 Washbeck Green. Isolated circular enclosure formed by a discontinuous stone bank. Within the enclosure is a small cup and ring-marked rock, very weathered, but in low sun two triple-ring figures with ducts leading from the cups can be seen together with many small cups some with single rings and some within enclosing grooves.

NZ 0580 0845. Cup and ring-marked rock. Single concentric figure on small earthbound rock now heather-covered. Field boundary, indistinct low bank, in close proximity.

NZ 0585 0835. Cup-marked rock on edge of water conduit, small cairns nearby.

NZ 0550 0880. Head of Scale Knoll (Skalen How) Gill. Cup and ring-marked rock - a fine large concentric figure with duct, and several cups also with ducts on southern face of a rounded orthostat placed at the NW angle of a rectangular enclosure at the head of the gill. Remains of other stone settings nearby.

NZ 0508 0888. Scale Knoll - small cup and ring-marked rock.

NZ 0550 0880. Large orthostat decorated on the whole of the Western face with cup and ring markings, all very weathered except below turf. This standing stone is closely associated with stone banks and field boundaries. Flint scrapers and flakes found nearby.

NZ 052 083 (centre) Enclosures, indistinct below Eel Hill with five cup-marked rocks, two with channels.

NZ 0500 0785 Eel Hill. Cup and ring-marked rock with deep (250mm x 250mm) basin under turf.

NZ 0523 0763 Osmond's Gyll. Cup and ring-marked rock. A single finely executed figure on a current-bedded block at the base of the scree on east side of gill.

NZ 0516 0751 Osmond's Gyll. Stone circle, situated above entrance to the gill. Seven rocks in a circular (elliptical) setting. See *B.A.R.* 81, pp. 72, 73 (N.B. grid reference there is wrong).

NZ 0700 0765 Byers Hill. Field boundaries and clearance cairns.

NZ 0645 0770. Badger Way Stoup. Rough rock walling and small clearance cairns. Short lengths of walling occur in several locations, viz. on West Lanbrough, on Brown Hill, at Cathaw Stoup and NE of Osmond's Gyll. These indicate that a system of land division once existed over the whole of the Low Moor. Small numbers of rock cairns are associated with these fragments of walling.

NZ 0682 0952. Sub-circular enclosure formed of stone bank with some large orthostats remaining. Named 'Greystones' on 6in. to 1 mile map. Rock setting on SE side may be remains of cist; one of three large rocks which form an open rectangle is cup-marked.

NZ 0500 0945, 850' O.D. Isolated hut circle 8m diam.

NZ 057 066. Frankinshaw How. Surface scatters of flint artefacts from four separate sites in the general vicinity of Frankinshaw How with microliths which conform to the Pennine Narrow Blade Later Mesolithic technology. Micro-scalene triangles present on three of the sites with rods, points and petit tranchet points also. A fair number of small cores av. 20-40mm often re-touched on scrapers but no other scrapers at all. Raw material is clear unpatinated flint of beach pebble origins of many colours but mainly translucent brown. A single black chert barbed and tanged arrowhead, was found a few metres from a group of microliths. The tranchet points are directly associated with the microliths, i.e. have been found with scalene triangles.

NZ 0678 0472. Holgate How. Round barrow 20 metres diameter on summit. Isolated rock cairn at 0690 0518.

NZ 067 042 (Centre) Holgate How. Cup and ring-marked rock with very indistinct field boundaries nearby. Cup and ring markings, cup-marks and grooves on large gritstone blocks further up the slope but all very weathered.

NZ 0618 0445. Rispey Wood. Rectangular enclosure with foundations of huts, one circular within. Small enclosures nearby.

NZ 0578 0442. Moresdale Ridge. Short length of rock walling leads to a solitary cairn.

BISHOPSIDE, HIGH AND LOW (SE 180675) Mrs. M. O. R. Collins reports the gift to the Nidderdale Museum Society of a Neolithic polished greenstone axe in good condition, 13 cm long and 6.5 cm in maximum width. It was found 'about 80 years ago' by the grandfather of the donor while graving for peat on Pateley Moor. It is on display in The Nidderdale Museum, Pateley Bridge.

BOWES NY 9685 1245. T. C. Laurie reports the discovery of an enclosed settlement on the south bank of the Sleightholme Beck, near East Mellwaters Farm, at 288m. O.D. Three circular stone founded huts, the central being 9.5m diameter, enclosed within a stone bank 11m wide x 1.2m high (maximum). Occasional surviving orthostats indicate the original width of the enclosure wall to have been 3.5m. The enclosure is sub-circular on plan. 45 metres x 38 metres. A modern sheepfold wall crosses the site and the enclosure wall has been robbed away in the vicinity of this wall, otherwise the site is well preserved. A separate small rectangular enclosure with three huts exists on the East side of the main enclosure. Ditched enclosures on the South edge of the ravine at NY 9670 1225. Full report and plan submitted to the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland.

COPT HEWICK SE 348 724. Various flint blades, scrapers and waste found in the vicinity of the Blois Hall round barrow (P. Chadwick).

GRINTON - Harkerside Moor. T. C. Laurie reports his discovery of early land divisions in the form of substantial stone banks running from the modern cleared pastures to the highest scars, surviving in open moorland from SE 042 967 to SE 020 979. In addition, areas of rough rock walling define fields irregular in form and small in area with many clearance cairns in the following locations: - On the upper slopes of How Hill (at SE 042 969), on both banks of Grinton Gill (at SE 043 974), and west of the abrupt end of the earthworks (ditch, berm and rampart) at SE 035 976. The circular structure at SE 035 976 of double orthostat construction is closely associated with a number of large cairns and rough rock walling and may be the foundation of a large round house.

HEPWORTH, CHEES GATE NAB (SE 177067) J. A. Gilks reports that Andrew Brothers, of Gorse Bank Farm, found on the surface of reclaimed moorland a fragment of a Late Neolithic perforated stone (?) hoe. The surviving portion, which appears to represent approximately two-thirds of the implement, has parallel sides, a gently rounded 'blade', which betrays much evidence of use, and is of pointed-oval section. It is pierced through the centre of the broad face by a circular preforation of hour-glass section. The angle of the fracture at the opposite end suggests the piece was detached during use. The surfaces are heavily pitted and have developed a dull pale-to-dark grey patina; areas of recent abrasion have exposed a dark grey core, a macroscopic examination of which suggests a volcanic rock of possibly Lake District or North Wales origin. Length 100mm., maximum width 70mm, maximum thickness 30mm., diameter of hour-glass perforation at surface 24mm., at centre 12mm. Retained by the finder.

HESLERTON SE 918 767. Work by D. Powlesland has continued on rescue excavations at Cook's Sand Quarry and as part of the Heslerton Parish Project. Excavation to date has extended over 5 acres of the sand quarry site and limited exploration of a plough-threatened site to the south. The earliest activity is represented by large amounts of late Mesolithic flintwork, both microlithic and blade industries being present. Three phases of late Neolithic activity have been detected, the first represented by a series of over 30 pits, with grooved ware associations and the second by a series of small field-gullies, at *c.*20m. intervals, running east-west across the site. The third Neolithic phase is shown by two barrow cemeteries (sealing the field-gullies) and an area of occupation between them. At the southern end of the rescue site appears to be an extensive group of small (*c.* 15m dia.) barrows, within which two burials have been located, one with a Beaker (exc. J. Dent 1977), the other with two food-vessels. The second barrow group, *c.* 250m. to the north, has largely escaped plough-damage in consequence of a protective layer of aeolian sand. The two barrows examined each have both Beaker and Food Vessel associations. Between the barrow groups settlement is indicated by a ring-gulley and by high densities of flintwork.

Work during 1981 produced important evidence relating to the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age settlement. The linear settlement aligned east to west, was focussed upon a major pit-alignment boundary and was bordered by fields to north and south. A number of building types may be recognised, including post-built roundhouses and 4, 6 and 8-post rectangular buildings. Evidence relating to the contemporary ploughing methods has been recovered.

Sampling work in the southern area exposed more of the Anglian cemetery investigated in 1977-79. A total of 88 graves have now been excavated, from an estimated total of 300.
Work continues.

HUTTON CONYERS (West Fields) SE 325 731
The finding of flint flakes and waste is reported by P. Chadwick.

HUTTON CONYERS (Sixpenny Hill) SE 354 743
P. Chadwick reports the discovery of flint flakes, scrapers and waste around Sixpenny Hill.

HUTTON LOWCROSS, CODHILL (NZ 616 120) Stanhope White reports the remains of an earthen enclosure approximately 60ft. by 90ft. The plan resembles a capital 'P' with clearly marked entrance at the south-west corner, where the bottom of the loop meets the upright of the letter. The western side is extended for about 90ft. beyond the entrance. This might possibly be an Iron Age 'banjo enclosure' or a late medieval fotheringstead.

INGLETON, RAVEN SCAR CAVE SD 730 757. This cave, discovered in 1971 by G. Hollinshead, has been excavated over nine short seasons by B. Danson and B. Dickinson as part of a major reappraisal of Cave burials in the north, being undertaken by J. A. Gilks (Fig. 1). Beneath a superficial deposit of angular limestone rubble, and set in the mouth of the cave, were two pear-shaped limestone slabs, 1.45m. high and 450mm. square at the base tapering to 450 by 300mm. at the top; beyond a passage 2.46m. long opens into a lofty north-west/south-east aligned chamber 4m. long by 2.8m. wide and 9m. high.
The floor was a carpet of calcite 100 to 300mm. thick and this capped a deposit of stiff, medium-to-dark, brown clay 150 to 300mm. thick which in turn rested on decomposed stone.
In the entrance, and resting on the surface of the clay, was a small hearth 400 by 400mm., whilst at the rear of the chamber were four superimposed hearths. Set against the north wall of the chamber was an arc of limestone blocks and several slabs set on edge (feature A) defining an area 1.36m. by 540mm. Brown clay filled this feature and intermixed were pieces of human major bones, fragments of a mandible, many teeth, fragments of deer antler and a boar tusk blade. A comparable feature (feature B), but of trapezoidal outline, 1.26m. wide at the broader and tapering to 1m. by 1m. in length, with one side formed by a double row of blocks and slabs, was discovered in the constructed entrance to a passage at the rear of the chamber. Many comminuted human bones, an amber bead, a sherd of Later Neolithic pottery, fragments of an All-Over-Cord Beaker, two flint flakes and plano-convex knife were *associated* with the remains.
Excavation of the floor between these two features produced a large assemblage of animal remains, scraps of Later Neolithic pottery, Beaker sherds, part of an Early Bronze Age Collared Vessel, a variety of flint scrapers, a figacially worked tanged-and-barbed arrowhead and a small quantity of waste flakes. A notable find was a perfectly preserved bone whistle.

Feature B was found, on removal, to have been built directly on top of a silted-up depression, 400mm. deep, which ran back for the whole width and length of the passage a distance of 3.6m. On the floor were two superimposed hearths the lower, 540 by 260mm., was partly overlaid by a paved zone, 700 by 400mm., the upper surface of which was burnt red; there were no datable finds. Excavation of the passage showed that though the walls were almost vertical above the calcite, below they were undercut, often to a depth of 600mm. From the centre, and resting on the surface of the brown clay, came a heap of human ribs and other bones, whilst from the rear was obtained a small amount of animal bone, but no dating evidence. For a fuller summary see Gilks, J. A., 'Excavations in a Cave on Raven Scar, Ingleton', 1973-75, *Brit. Cave Res. Ass. Trans.,* 3, no. 2 (1976), pp. 95-99. Finds to be deposited in the Pig Yard Museum, Settle (J. A. Gilks).

MARRICK, Fremington Edge Top 430m (1415ft. O.D.) and on Copperthwaite Allotment. SE 057 997 (Centre). Parallel land divisions trending NNE up to 120m in length, associated field systems, cairns and one possible stone-founded round house. (T. C. Laurie).

MARRICK, Skelton Moor NZ 077 044 (Centre). Parallel land divisions trending NNE, up to 2km in length with associated enclosures and field systems cover the whole of the Southern, Eastern and Northern slopes of Cock How and extended to Munn End above Telfit Farm. Offset gateways in the stone banks indicate that these divisions were once effective barriers to stock. No associated settlements have yet been found. Isolated rock cairns generally distributed but few in number. Cup and ring-marked rocks at 081 021 and 085 002 (T. C. Laurie).

MARRICK, Raygill Allotment. Isolated sub-circular enclosure at NZ 051 008. (T. C. Laurie).

MARSDEN, DAN CLOUGH, (SE 006128) J. A. Gilks reports that Stephen Pole has excavated a small Late Mesolithic site near the head of Dan Clough, Marsden. A hearth, constructed of sandstone slabs and covered with charcoal, was surrounded by a mass of flint waste and a few tools. The following, all in pale-to-dark grey, grey-brown and mottled white-grey flint, have been recognised: cores (3); small irregular blocks (13); primary flakes (56); core trimming flakes (6); flakes (64); blades (6); micro-blades (6); chippings (236); utilised pieces (7); graver; microliths - mainly scalene triangles - (22); burnt pieces (28). A small amount of dark grey-to-black

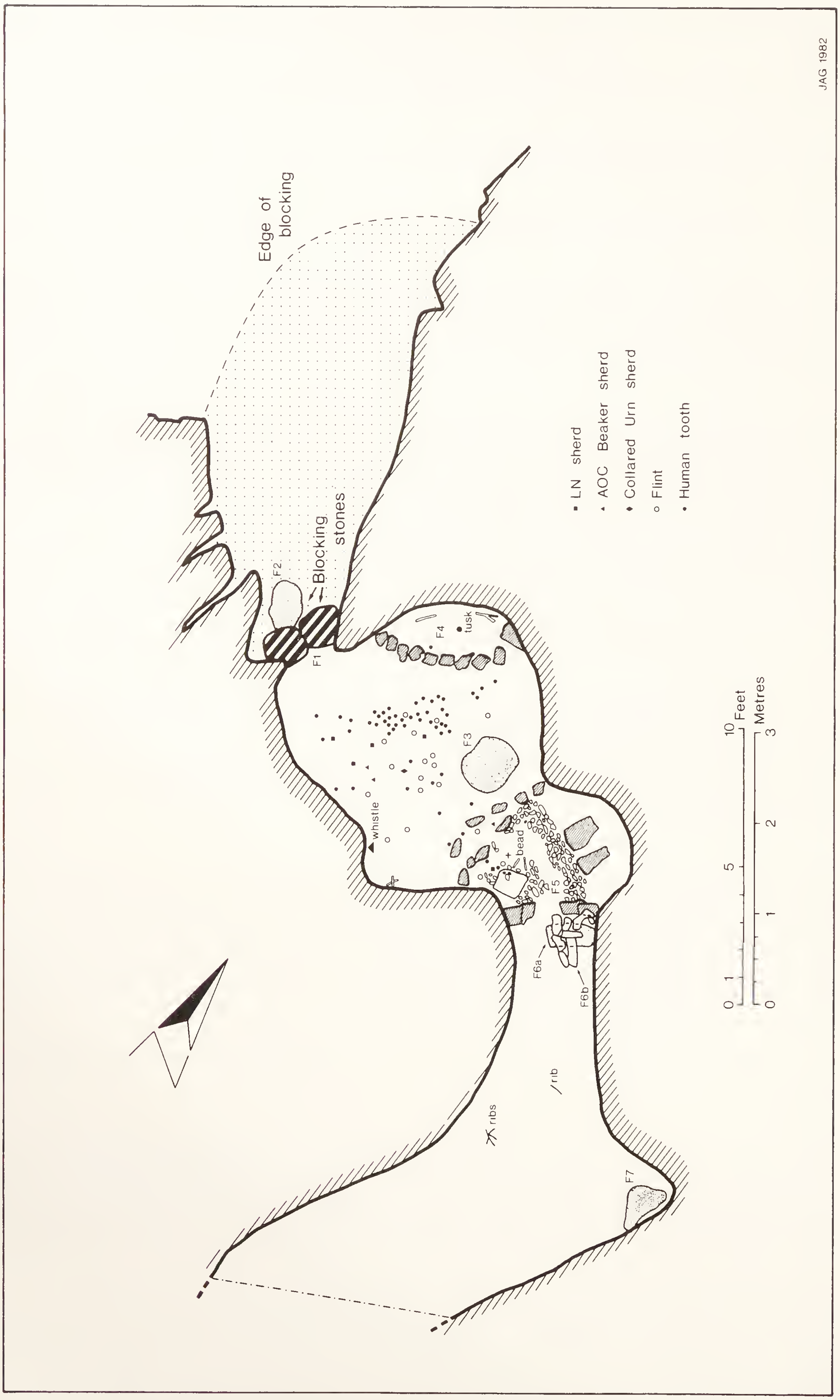


Fig. 1. Plan of Raven Scar Cave, Ingleton.

chert of medium quality was also found; the following types of waste have been identified: irregular blocks (7); flakes (60); chippings (80). Total (flint and chert): 595. Finds in the Tolson Memorial Museum.

MIDDLETON QUERNHOW SE 3318 7796. P. Chadwick records the find of the upper stone of a millstone grit quern, ploughed up in 1980. The quern is in good condition, with two rectangular socket holes.

NORTON CONYERS SE 304 777. P. Chadwick records the discovery of two upper stones of millstone grit querns, both broken, which were picked from a pile of stones cleaned from a potato crop in 1980.

OXENHOPE, NAB WATER SITE 3 (SE 463 226). This site, discovered by field workers in the 1930s and soon afterwards investigated by members of the Bradford Antiquarian Society and subsequently by persons unknown, was re-excavated by J. A. Gilks and the late G. Chambers for the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, in successive years 1970-76. The present series of excavations showed that the stratigraphy had almost everywhere been destroyed by the previous investigators' trenches; where undisturbed levels survived, all proved to be devoid of finds. Numerous flints were, however, obtained from soil that had been used to backfill part of the site and the possibility of recovering more, albeit unstratified, flints from the previous investigators' spoil heaps that surrounded the site certainly seemed to justify their examination. The amount of material recovered through meticulous sieving was remarkable and one cannot help but wonder how much evidence had been taken away by the earlier workers. A small quantity of flints occurred in an undisturbed context beneath one of the dumps.

Until recently the finds were in two separate collections, but have now been, in accordance with the wishes of the late G. Chambers, amalgamated. The following waste and tool types have been recognised: cores (14); small irregular blocks (7); primary flakes (28); core trimming flakes (48); flakes (900); blades (53); chippings (693); graver spalls (5); micro-burins (8); core utilised as a hammer stone; core scraper; utilised flakes/blades (19); graver; double ended borer; single ended borer; convex scrapers (11); end scrapers (5); rough scrapers (3); microliths-predominantly large obliquely blunted, but some isosceles and scalene triangles - (77); burnt pieces (22); total: 1,898. Finds in the Tolson Memorial Museum.
Report by J. A. Gilks.

PICKHILL SE 339 843. Paul Chadwick reported the find of a brown flint scraper.

PICKHILL SE 336 824. The discovery of a brown flint 'thumb nail' scraper is reported by P. Chadwick.

PICKHILL SE 3284 8281. P. Chadwick reports the discovery when lifting potatoes in 1979/80 of a Neolithic polished flint axe and the two halves of a perforated battle-axe, broken about the shaft-hole.

PICKHILL SE 3350 8310. Several flint flakes found in this area were recorded by P. Chadwick.

REETH, Reeth Low Moor, Cringley Hill. NZ 000 003. Isolated circular enclosure with one hut circle and five cairns on clearance heaps within.

Cringley Hill. NZ 001 003 (centre). Cairnfield - approximately 20. No cairns on moorland west of Cleasby. Further cairns and enclosures east of Cleasby at NZ 004 001 (Centre). Small enclosures at NZ 003 003.

Riddings Rigg. SE 020 998 (Centre). Isolated circular enclosure partly robbed to provide material for later parallel land divisions aligned due north/south. These N/S land divisions cut by a third system of parallel stone banks with a NW/SW trend which extends over the whole of the south-facing upper slopes of Calver and over the eastern slopes (Black Hill) to the road at Winly Hall. (T. Laurie).

SEAMER CARR TA 0350 8200. Excavations under the direction of R. T. Schadla-Hall continued on the peat margins of the site. The area of Site C was extended and further early Mesolithic flint working areas were recovered to confirm the general spread of activity now known to stretch over 40 metres of the shoreline. Although only small quantities of organic material were recovered, the excavation of a flint-knapping area was most encouraging, and can be linked to the other sites so far recovered on Site C. Further limited sampling excavation in the same area suggested that a general spread of activity extends well over 60 metres along the "Zone IV/V" shoreline area.

On the western side of the site the programme of 2 x 2 metre sample trenches was continued along the 24.5 metre ground contour. The twelve such trenches set at 15-metre intervals along the shoreline produced, once again, evidence for occupation in the early Mesolithic, and indicated two possible concentrations for further investigation. The overall picture now emerging from an investigation stretching over 400 metres of the peat margin in zone IV/V would indicate a general spread of activity which requires further investigation.

Further investigation of the area alongside Rabbit Hill produced additional quantities of *Bos primigenius* bone to go with that which was recovered in 1980.

A further four 2 x 2 metre sample trenches on Rabbit Hill produced evidence for an occupation area of late Mesolithic date, including a hearth. The surface of Rabbit Hill has been extensively disturbed by rabbits and it seems that further investigations in this area would be limited.

Edward Cloutman, from the Plant Sciences Department at Cardiff University has continued to carry out investigations of the peat stratigraphy and the shoreline area in zone IV/V, to enable further sampling of earth excavation to complete the overall picture of the Mesolithic activity around the 24.5 metre level. It is now clear that the whole area of peat under threat, consisting of some 20 hectares, has been undisturbed and that large areas within the threatened zone are sealed under boreal peat and provide excellent conditions for the recovery in situ of early Mesolithic material. In addition it is clear that organic preservation is of a very high order because of the neglected drainage in the area. The 1982 season should see the completion of sampling along the identified zone of occupation and should also allow the isolation of areas most likely to represent early Mesolithic occupation as well as underlining the high level of the organic preservation on the site. In the meantime, work is continuing on the analysis of flint recovered in the last three seasons.

SINDERBY SE 342 817. P. Chadwick reports an axe-hammer, probably of Group XVII, ploughed up in 1980.

STANWICK NZ 183 115. Excavations were directed by Percival Turnbull for the DoE and NYCC as part of an overall reassessment of the archaeology of management needs of the site. Previous excavation on the site was limited to work in the early 1950s by R. E. M. Wheeler, who associated the site with the historical personage of Venutius and with the events preceding the campaign of Petilius Cerealis. The earthworks were re-surveyed by H. G. Ramm and R. M. Butler of RCHM during spring 1981.

Wheeler's historical sequence for the site is linked step-by-step with a three-phase system of development of the Iron Age earthworks, which now appears unacceptable and which should probably be replaced by a single-phase scheme, in which Stanwick is divided into a northern compound of some 60 ha and a larger southern area of about 350 ha, the division apparently reflecting a funtional difference. A small area excavated in the Tofts field, the central area of Stanwick, helped to illuminate both the nature and function of the whole site.

First-century settlement has been known in the Tofts since Wheeler uncovered an insubstantial timber round-house and associated gullies. A recent geophysical survey by the DoE indicated settlement features continuing over a very wide area, and a trench was excavated as an exercise in validation of the geophysical survey. Three phases of activity were revealed, the earliest of which was represented by a series of re-cut gullies and ditches of unknown date. On top of these lay a deposit of 'occupational' soil with many fragments of *tegula* and *imbrex*, as well as quantities of imported pottery. Above the soil lay a round-house built of untooled masonry in a style entirely native. Pottery finds included a very high proportion of South Gaulish samian as well as rouletted butt-beakers and flagons; the ceramic sequence extends from the 40s to the mid 70s A.D., and it appears unlikely that the Roman-style building betrayed by the roofing tile was constructed more than a decade or so after the middle of the first century.

The combination of the great defended area and the existance of materially successful and largely 'Romanised' life-style at so early a date give away the real nature of the site at Stanwick, and show that it belongs somewhere within that broad and vague category known as 'oppida'; clearly, a very great deal of work remains to be done, but one may now start to look at Stanwick as a major social and economic centre, which probably owed its success, if not its very existence, to the enormously increased opportunities for external trade which must have been afforded by the proximity of an expanding Roman world.

SWAINBY SE 330 856. A chert cone and several worked flints were found in ploughed fields centred at this Grid Reference. Reported by P. Chadwick.

SWAINBY SE 333 857. The upper stone of a quern, found in the late 1970s when grubbing out a hedge, is reported by P. Chadwick.

VALE OF YORK.

East Coast main railway line diversion. Staff of the Northern Yorkshire County Council examined available air photographs of the course of the new line, which was also fieldwalked. Two features were examined in more detail by R. C. Barcham with help from the York Excavation Group. The work was funded by a grant from British Rail. Finds are in the Yorkshire Museum.

APPLETON ROEBUCK, COLTON BRIDGE (SE 542432). A site indicated on air photographs as a multi-period complex of rectilinear ditched enclosures with possible house sites was investigated. Fieldwalking had produced Roman pottery from the vicinity. Excavation failed to find any enclosure ditches or stratified artifacts. Patches of rounded stones in no real pattern seem to be natural deposits in the clay.

BIGGIN, OX MORR (SE 546 344) Seven fine worked flakes of red-brown flint may come from a disturbed Neolithic burial.

GATEFORTH, LUND FARM (SE 573 291). A quadrilateral enclosure indicated by cropmarks on aerial photographs was excavated but no ditches were located. A slight curving feature 5m. long, other slight shallow soilmarks (possibly of sleeper-beam trenches) and a patch of burnt stones were observed. Eight flint flakes and abraded sherds of third-century Roman pottery were found unstratified, as well as medieval and later pottery. The existence of the enclosure could not be confirmed.

Ryther Cum Ossendyke (SE 539 397). A previously unrecorded moat was located in Moat Field (Tithe Map), but was outside the route of the diversion.

ROMAN

Castleford *(Lagentium)*. The West Yorkshire Archaeological Unit have been excavating in Castleford since 1974 (Fig 2). In 1977 and 1978 excavations concentrated on the military ditches of the fort annex and on the well preserved remains of the regimental bath house (3) adjacent to the River Aire. In 1980 work moved about 400 yards south of the river to the *vicus* area (5). Earlier excavations in 1974, adjacent to the Welbeck Street site (4), had revealed several phases of timber buildings with long narrow yards fronting onto the main Roman road. Pottery and coin evidence showed a period of continuous occupation from about 80 AD to 170 AD.

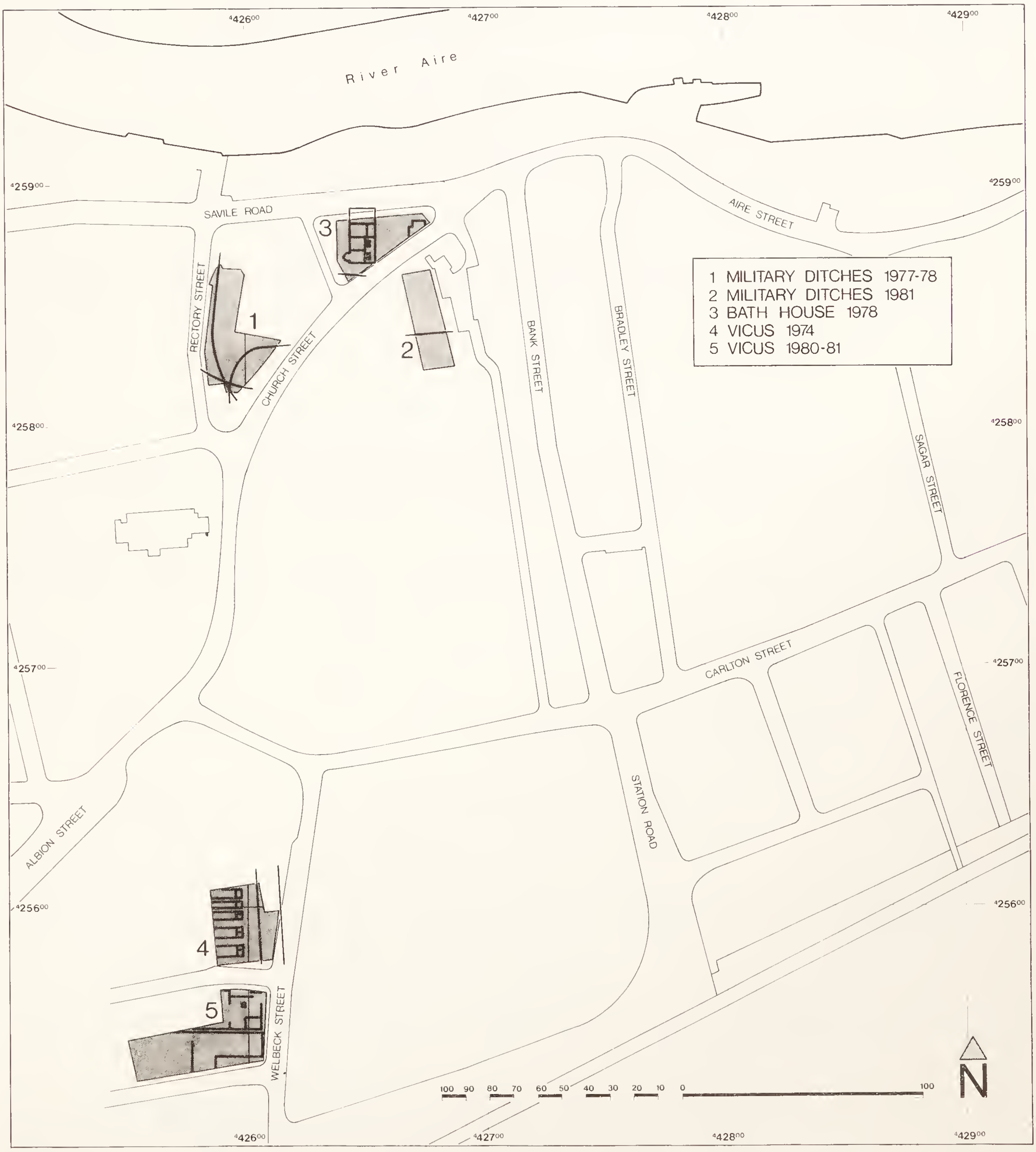


Fig. 2. Roman Castleford *(Lagentium)*; major excavations, 1974–81.

Welbeck Street (SE 425 255). Initial clearance of the Welbeck Street site revealed the limestone walls of a rectangular building, possible a *mansio*. The *mansio* had small square partitions attached to the main walls, one with a floor of *opus signinum* and another identified from the joist slots and a high concentration of carbonised grain as a granary. The rooms were constructed around a central courtyard with a gravel floor and a large plinth in the centre which probably supported a statue. The water supply for the building came from a deep square-cut well. Due to water-logging a timber lining was preserved in its lower deposits. Selected timbers from this and other features are being examined for dendrochronological analysis. Soil samples are being prepared and analysed. Pottery from the *mansio* indicates a mid-second-century date for its occupation, suggesting a similar date for the stone building and the timber buildings from the adjacent *vicus* site excavated in 1974.

The foundation trenches for the *mansio* were cut into an extensive area of burning, the destruction layers of a previous timber phase. The building techniques were similar to those found on the vicus in 1974 - beam slots, post-holes and rows of stake holes for boundary fences.

A road ran east/west from the main Roman road through the *vicus* and wheel ruts and hoof prints were impressed into the clay surface. It was later metalled with a compact layer of rammed gravel.

Thirty metres back from the main Roman street frontage, and behind the *mansio*, three large pits were excavated. The ground plan showed them to have amorphous edges but these resolved into three features - two circular pits and a deep linear trench. Several complete pots came from the upper fill, including a buff-coloured shallow bowl and a samian vessel with erotic decoration and the potter's name Albucius stamped into the moulding. Both of the narrow pits narrowed down to square-cut shafts, filled in one instance with a peaty deposit and in the other with a sticky blue/grey clay. The first pit contained a regulaı timber frame with jointed uprights and the second a timber ladder. Both these are thought to relate to the original purpose of the pits which were later used for rubbish dumping.

Wilson's Yard. In August 1981 work started in Wilson's Yard about 50 metres south of the Bath House site. The initial stratigraphy produced beam slots and crude wall foundations, but these overlay a 10-metre length of military ditch. This was exactly in line with a section previously excavated in 1977 and provides further evidence for the shape and position of the military installations.

The quality and large quantity of finds from the Castleford sites is to some extent indicative of the importance of the area in the Roman period.

CATTERICK (Bainesse Farm) SE 214 973. Rescue excavations were carried out by the DoE Central Excavation Unit under the direction of P. Wilson. A Roman roadside settlement and Anglian cemetery on Dere Street were examined. To the east of Dere Street were located 5 or 6 building plots, aligned at right-angles to the road, as were the strip buildings they contained. One building was of mortared masonry and had an apse and a hypocaust. One plot, excavated to natural, produced evidence of 5 phases of building : 2 timber phases succeeded by 2 phases with unmortared limestone foundations and a final phase with foundations of river-cobbles set in clay. After the plot had ceased to be occupied the area was used for burial; of the 6 graves found at least 2 were Anglian, the others being either Anglian or late Roman. A further 9 burials were found south of the main site and may represent part of an enclosed Romano-British cemetery.

An area excavated to the west of Dere Street did not produce the same quantity of structural evidence as that to the east : 3 phases were however recognised. The earliest produced evidence of small-scale metalworking which gave way to a timber strip-building, in turn superseded by a substantial T-shaped oven or corn-drier. To the south of this area the line of Dere Street was established by trial-trenching. Areas of the surrounding field-system were sampled on each side of the road.

The Roman occupation of the site spanned the period *c*. 80 AD to about the end of the third century.

YORK - Rougier Street SE 600 518. Excavations by the York Archaeological Trust were directed by Patrick J. Ottaway. A trench 10.50m x 2.50m was excavated and undisturbed natural was encountered at a depth of 7 metres below modern ground level. A well dated sequence of Roman deposits began with a stream bed infilled with waterlaid silts. A timber-lined channel cut into these silts suggested canalisation of the stream for drainage in the later second century. Overlying the channel was a deposit of burnt daub, plaster, timber and grain suggesting the remains of a grain warehouse. General re-organisation of the area appeared to follow and a street was found running on a north-west to south-east alignment. The street was remetalled on six occasions between the early third and mid-fourth century. On its south-west side was a building founded on stone piles, probably a warehouse. A deposit of painted wall plaster and red and yellow ochre dye suggested the presence of a plasterer's workshop in the fourth century.

Post-dating the latest street surface was 80 cms of black soil which contained Roman pottery. It may however be a post-Roman layer as the next phase was a group of twelfth or thirteenth-century rubbish pits. One of these pits produced a silver strap end of early ninth-century data supplementing a small body of evidence for Anglian activity in the area. No evidence was found for the tanning industry suggested by documentary sources. The pits, however, suggest the area was densely occupied by the thirteenth-century and this was confirmed by the remains of a small timber building fronting a forerunner of Tanner Street. No deposits later than the 14th century were found, due to the intrusion of Victorian cellars.

Roman Roads

(Douglas Haigh, Bradford Grammar School)
Excavations by Bradford Grammar School Archaeological Society.

Elslack and Thornton-in-Craven

Elslack Roman Fort (near) M721—North?
Sections to discover the line of a possible Roman Road leaving Elslack Fort for Long Preston or Burton-in-Lonsdale, were cut outside the Fort's north gate, just outside the scheduled area, south-east of Thornton Beck (SD 24394947); and on the postulated line in the field north-west of Thornton Beck, immediately south-east of A59(T) (SD 92374955). Nothing was found.

M720a. Morton, Morton Moor SE 102453.
A section, cut on the impressive agger immediately south of Whetstone Gate at 1200 feet, revealed a cambered road 5·3m (17½ ft.) wide, of up to 0·3m (1 ft.) of rammed gravel, topped in places by remains of a metal-like skin less than 1 cm thick. Flooding made it impossible, on this occasion, to examine the subsoil and the ditch areas on each side of the road material.

M721. Bingley, Harden, Harden Moor. SE 071392.
A limited section, cut into the side of the prominent agger, gave findings similar to those of S W. Feather some 25 years ago. (Y.A.S. Roman Antiquities Section—letter in Roman Road Co-ordinator's file). These were : a well-cambered cobbled surface with large side kerbs 0·3 m (1 ft.) long, beneath which were large foundation boulders up to 0·45m (1½ ft.) long, 0·2 m (8 ins.) thick, packed with cobbles, the whole resting on a layer of gritty, grey sand tapering from 0·15 m (6 ins.) towards the centre of the road, to 0·5 m (2 ins.) beneath the kerbstone at its edge. Beneath were natural yellow brash and gritstone bedrock. There was no trace of a ditch: if it ever existed it would have been very shallow, because of the closeness of the natural sub-soil to the ground surface. When cleared of vegetation, the road was 5·2 m (17 ft.) wide; without kerbs 4·27 m (14 ft.) wide; agger height 0·46 m (1½ft).

Road Alignments: Fieldwork by Bradford Grammar School Archaeological Society.

Ilkey to Manchester Roman Road M720a
Ilkley, Ilkley Moor SE 103456
A narrow, shallow agger 20 m (65½ ft.) long, 4 m (13 ft.) wide, 0·25 m (10ins.) high was noted immediately east of and parallel to Keighley Road *c*260 m (850 ft.) north-north-east of Whetstone Gate SE 10204535. The course followed from Whetstone Gate to Bradup Beck consists of 3 straight lengths, less winding than the route suggested by previous field workers.

Morton, Morton Moor, Whetstone Gate SE 10204535 to Bradup Beck SE 095439
Between these points were noted a series of remains—not continuous. Aggers varied in length between 27 m (88½ ft.) and 198 m (650 ft.); in width between 4·8 m (15½ ft.) and 6·5 m (21 ft. 4 ins.); and in height between 0·25 m (10ins.) and 1 m (3 ft. 3 ins.) The most impressive, immediately south of Whetstone Gate, was 198m (650 ft.) long, 6·5 m (21 ft. 4ins.) wide and 0·53 m (1¾ ft.) high, including a clearly defined alignment at c.30 (98½ ft.) from the field boundary wall between Ilkley and Morton Moors at Whetstone Gate.

In the immediate vicinity of Bradup Beck SE 095439 four features were noted. To the north east is a straight hollow way 8·8 m (29 ft.) wide, 1·68 m (5½ ft.) deep, 50 m (164 ft.) long, linked to a hillside agger 20 m (65½ ft.) long, 5·6 m (18½ ft.) wide, 0·2 m (8 ins.) high; itself linked to an eroded, curving bridge ramp 29 m (69 ft.) long, 1·08 m (3½ ft.) high, with an overall width from base to base of 6·4 m (21 ft.) and a 2·75 m (9 ft.) wide top. Across the stream to the south is a straight hollow way 42 m (138 ft.) long, 9·1 m (30 ft.) wide, 2·24 m (over 7 ft.) deep, with a flat bottom artificially widened for drainage purposes in recent times.

Bingley, Thwaites Brow, SE 077408
A low agger *c*.93 m (305 ft.) long, 4.5 m (c.15ft.) wide, 0·15 m (6 ins.) high was noted running parallel to the township boundary between Keighley and Bingley *c*.7m (23 ft.) distant from it, on a much more direct course to the crossing of the River Aire than the previously suggested route via Marley Brow SE 087407.

Ilkley to Manchester Roman Road M720a (cont'd)
Few measurable, constructional indications remain of M720a, as marked at various points on earlier OS maps between Moor Edge SE 070395 (Bingley, Harden) and east of West Manywells (Wilsden) at SE 062360, just south of Manywells Beck. However, at Bingley, Harden, Hainsworth Shaw SE 06853910 there remains a well-preserved terraceway 72·5 m (238 ft.) long, 5·2 m (17 ft.) wide on the OS line alongside Backshaw Lane.

Wakefield—Doncaster M721 extended?
Wakefield, Alverthorpe Detached, SE 327218
Seventeenth-century documentary evidence reveals the use of 'street' names to describe a straight length (343 m : 375 yds) of Leeds Road, the continuation of Northgate in Wakefield, suggesting modern road on Roman line. When the alignment is prolonged it reaches the River Calder at, or very adjacent to, the medieval bridge and chantry chapel at SE 338202.

WARMFIELD, SE 353191: BADSWORTH SE 454143: SOUTH ELMSALL SE 492115: HAMPOLE SE 523095
Field walking reveals the merest hints of a possible continuation to Doncaster.
1. Remains of a possible agger? 61 m (200 ft.) long, 6·4 m (21 ft.) wide, 0·4 m (1 ft. 4 ins.) high at Agbrigg (WARNFIELD) SE 353191 were noted in unpropitious surroundings, disturbed by railways, mining and quarrying.

2. Two groups of 6 'street' names, associated with straight lengths of township boundaries, and immediately alongside and on each side of the modern road A638(T), were noted north of Elm Leys (BADSWORTH) at SE 454143: and north-west of Stubbs Farm (SOUTH ELMSALL at SE 492115.

The course of A638, between Ackworth Moor Top SE 442162 and Stubbs Farm SE 492115, of 6½ km (4 miles) may be reduced to two mainly straight lengths, finally joining the A1 (T) and Margary 286 at Red House roundabout SE 523095 (SOUTH YORKSHIRE — HAMPOLE).

From early maps, this line was largely followed before A638 was turnpiked. Thus a course close to that of the present A638 may well represent the Roman road, if it existed, although no constructional indications whatsoever have been found. The evidence for this road is not promising.

LOTHERDALE, Cross Green, SD 962474
Fieldwork by Bradford Grammar School Archaeological Society in January and February 1982, on a previously unidentified earthwork of uncertain age and purpose, showed a well-preserved Roman marching camp of about 5·8 hectares (about 14½ acres), lying at 1,000 ft. altitude, about 274 m (900 ft.) south-west of the line of Roman road M721 near Herdstock Hill, and 4 km (2½ miles) south-east of the Roman fort of Elslack.

Ramparts, where measurable, are 4·9 m (16 ft.) wide, with maximum height 0·33 m (1 ft. 2 in.). Maximum depth from rampart top to ditch bottom is 1·5 m (5 ft.) maximum ditch width is 8·2 m (27 ft.). Remains of an internal clavicula were noted in the centre of the north-western side, with possible indications of others in two of the remaining sides. The four corners face the cardinal points. The site, on pasture land, is 20 km (12 mls.) almost due south of the marching camp at Mastiles Lane, Malham SD 913655. (*J.R.S.* 48 (1958) 97).

MEDIEVAL

BEVERLEY, Lurk Lane, TA 0379 3919
The Humberside Archaeological Unit reports that the final stage of their excavations (August 1981—January 1982) revealed evidence of Middle and late Saxon occupation underlying the post-Conquest structural sequence, already identified (October 1979—March 1981) and interpreted as Collegiate buildings—probably the Bedern—of Beverley Minster which lies immediately to the north of the site.

The first major activity on the site was marked by the excavation of a ditch, aligned north-east/south-west, which was infilled and realigned. The process was repeated with the second ditch, so that the third alignment lay due east/west. Contemporary with this last phase of major ditch cutting was a cobble pathway which was set along the northern side of the upcast bank, having two adjoining paths proceeding northwards from it over the earlier infilled ditch. One of these led to a timber structure, only part of the south wall of which lay within the area of excavation. A small styca hoard of A.D. 850 postdated the path layout, and Ipswich-type ware pottery was retrieved from the secondary silting of the associated ditch. Much of the ditch fill comprised timber, including examples of structural pieces, some burnt, suggesting the presence nearby of buildings which were demolished coincident with the infilling of the ditch, for which there was no replacement. The ditches are considered to represent stages in the development of an enlarging precinct from the Saxon monastery, founded in AD 718 by John the retiring Bishop of York, which seems to have terminated as a ditched enclosure in the later ninth century. At this time or shortly afterwards land use changed, demonstrated by the cutting of a narrow north/south ditch which was associated with occupation deposits, including a spread of soft sand, a wood-framed clay hearth, charcoal and melted lead, probably elements of Anglo-Scandinavian period light industrial activity. Lurk Lane—Lortegate (Dirty Street) in 1306—is also aligned north-south, some 40 m to the east of the tenth-century ditch, and may have its origin in plot divisions established at that time, but which later absorbed in the wide-ranging building work of the eleventh century and later.

BOLTON ON DEARNE, St. Andrew's Church SE. 456025. Whilst the church was being surveyed by P. F. Ryder and P. James of the SYCAS, a series of previously unrecorded carved stones re-used in the internal walls of the ringing chamber in the fifteenth-century west tower were drawn and photographed. Most interesting were a large number of blocks which have obviously constituted a frieze, with a simple design of raised lozenge-shaped panels. Parallels for this are hard to find, but as the walls of the adjacent nave are of pre-Conquest masonry, an early date cannot be ruled out. Also built into the tower walls are a number of medieval cross slab grave covers, with relatively simple incised designs of similar types to those at Wath-on-Dearne.

BROTTON NZ 692 197 S. K. Chapman of the Guisborough and District Archaeological Society reports that a section across the full width of the 18th century church foundations and adjoining the 1980 section of its west side, uncovered the east end wall remains of the medieval chapel of St. Margaret of Antioch.

Three courses of ashlar stone are in situ standing on a chamfered base, itself on a cobblestone foundation. The top course also had an external chamfered edge. At the south-east corner this wall adjoined the internal face of the eighteenth-century building, the south wall running parallel with the later wall. The north-east corner stopped about 1 m short of the north wall, however. The centre part of the east wall had been demolished for the intrusion of two brick vault of the nineteenth century.

In the space between the east walls of both structures was part of the base of a thirteenth/fourteenth-century stone table tomb. Unfortunately the incised stone top is missing. Nearby a freestanding sandstone cist contained timber remains of a coffin 750 mm. long. A silver coin found here is dated 1572.

The width of the medieval east wall is 6300 mm overall.

CAMPSALL Old Rectory SE 544140. This house, probably of early fifteenth-century date, was examined and recorded by P. F. Ryder of SYCAS and S. R. Jones of Sheffield City Polytechnic. The building is constructed of magnesian limestone ashlar, and consists of a north-south block containing a first-floor hall—the doorway of which survives, formerly reached by an external stair—with a cross-wing at its north end. At the east end of the wing is a first-floor chamber traditionally said to have been a chapel, with a fine three-light east window. Both hall and chapel retain their original roofs, of an unusual form with collared rafter pairs and principal rafter trusses, which carry both collar and side purlins. The element of security was perhaps a consideration in the construction of a stone first floor hall house at this period and was perhaps prompted by the notorious medieval outlawry of Barnsdale Forest, in which Campsall was situated.

DENABY Old Hall SK 483991. The remaining western half of the north range of the Hall, a fifteenth-century house formerly laid out round a courtyard, was recorded by P. F. Ryder of SYCAS. The roof proved to be king-post form. A considerable amount of framing survives at the first-floor level. The external wall of the range was of stone to full height but the south wall, towards the former courtyard, seems to have been stone below and timber-framed above, as at the courtyard manor of New Hall, Darfield, recorded by the SYCAS in 1980.

BARNES, Hall Cross. The base of this medieval wayside cross, now in a plantation at Barnes Hall, Ecclesfield, was recorded in 1924 but had been written off as 'lost' by the Ordnance Suvey. The stone was recently rediscovered at Sk 33709556 amongst undergrowth. It is of a common type, square in plan with chamfered angles, having coventional broach stops and a central socket for the cross shaft. Reported by P.F. Ryder, South Yorks County Archaeology Service.

HATFIELD Manor House SE 663093. The former royal hunting lodge (referred to in some documents as a "palace"), was inspected by P. F. Ryder of SYCAS and S. R. Jones of Sheffield City Polytechnic. The main (west)block of the house proved to incoporate substantial remains of a twelfth-century stone building—probably a first-floor hall above an undercroft—from whch two ground floor windows survive. The present east wing was either built or rebuilt in the mid-seventeenth century, from which some good internal features survive. The whole house was extensively remodelled and altered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A number of medieval architectural fragments lie in the garden, including a fine twelfth-century impost block which might perhaps have formed part of a blind arcade at the 'high' end of the wall (cf. St. Mary's Guild, Lincoln).

HELLIFIED Peel, SD 859556. The ruins of Hellifield Peel were recorded and photographed by J. Birch (University of Sheffield), S. R. Jones (Sheffield City Polytechnic) and P. F. Ryder (SYCAS). The east end of the present structure is the earliest part, built probably in the fourteenth century as a tower solar to an aisled hall further east. The weathering of the hall roof remains on the external face of the east wall. Later in the medieval period the hall was removed and the solar block converted into a tower house proper, with a pair of projecting turrets and the solar block converted into a tower house proper, with a pair of projecting turrets on its west front and the earlier north-east turret enlarged by an addition to the south. In the seventeenth century the house was extended further by the addition of the west wing, a gabled block set between the two western turrets and extending further west. A final major phase of alterations came late in the eighteenth century. The building is now a ruinous shell. Plaster falling from the walls has exposed many medieval features, e.g. the chapel piscina and the remains of the hall fireplace.

HUNSHELF Dean Head Farmhouse SE 269002. A 'T' - plan house, externally of seventeenth-century and later appearance, recorded by S. R. Jones of Sheffield City Polytechnic and P. F. Ryder of SYCAS. The cross-wing, at the west end, is of two bays, and has had a stone wall to the west and a framed partition to the east, towards the hall block which originally appears to have been of cruck construction with stone side walls. In the seventeenth-century the original house, which is probably of fifteenth-century date (coeval with the fine aisled barn nearby), was remodelled in stone and the hall block rebuilt, re-using the original cruck blades and purlins in its roof.

KIRKHEATON SE 180171. J. A. Gilks reports that in 1980 W. B. Spensley found the lower half of a grave slab in the right bank of the Ox Field Beck, Kirk Vale, near Kirkheaton. The fragment measures 330 x 230 x 90mm. and is of medium-grained sandstone. Carved on the obverse was a simple cross of which only the plain, parallel-sided, shaft with its stepped base, survives, the top having been broken off in antiquity. On the left side are a pair of shears. The longitudinal edges display diagonal tooling, but the reverse has not been dressed. On stylistic grounds the slab should belong to the twelfth, or just possibly to the thirteenth century. Now in the Tolson Memorial Museum (Accession No.: 2567-0).

KIRKSTALL ABBEY, LEEDS SE 260361. Work began on the Guest House site in April 1981 carried out by West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council in association with Leeds City Council and the Manpower Services Commission.

The first phase of the range built in the early thirteenth century consisted of a central hall with services to the south and a solar wing to the north, one of the earliest examples of this development of the end hall house.

The axis of the range runs parallel to the slope of the valley side, so that an artificial terrace had to be created before construction could begin. One of the major problems encountered by the excavations has been the degree of disturbance associated with the excavations of W. St. John Hope but more particularly with the laying out of the municipal park.

The solar wing consisted of two floors served by gardrobes, access to the upper storey being provided by a staircase in the north west corner of the hall. All floor levels have been destroyed and the desposits within the gardrobes removed.Two features, a narrow stone-packed drainage gully and a shallow semi-circular ditch cut into natural, date from the construction of the range or the period immediately preceding it.

The hall, 19 m by 14 m, consists of 4 bays, the span of the roof supported by 6 piers founded on stone stylobates. The central hearth is constructed from sandstone cobbles contained within a curb of gritstone blocks, and although relating to the final phase of the use of the range it replaced earlier hearths in the same position. A lead pipe partly robbed out, provided the water supply to the building, crossing the hall from north to south set in a shallow trench cut into natural. Later in the thirteenth century major reconstruction work was required to combat the subsidence of the west wall into the main drain which threatened the structure. The floor was taken up, and a new wall was constructed immediately inside the old line, the area relevelled and a new floor laid.

The service wing was initially occupied by a single room, a kitchen, which was provided with a central hearth and fireplace. At a later date, probably when the reconstruction of the hall was taking place, the room was subdivided by a partition wall to create a pantry. The earliest surviving floor level in the wing provided a short-cross penny from the reign of John, dated to 1205-8.

A major expansion of the range took place sometime later in the thirteenth century with the addition of a scullery and a new kitchen. In order to provide direct access from the new services to the hall a second partition wall was inserted through the service wing to create a corridor, which blocked the original fireplace. A complex series of drains relating to various phases of use of the range and of differing standards of construction cross the courtyard to the west where the main drain flows southwards beyond the range.

To the east of the kitchen what had previously been considered to be a cellar has now been shown to contain a central hearth and to be far larger than St. John Hope's plan had suggested. The full extent of the structure has not been determined, but it is hoped to investigate what appears to be a semi-circular eastern wall in 1982.

On the western side of the courtyard lies the stables which contain the most impressive surviving floor on the site. The construction of the building necessitated the demolition of a hitherto unknown structure lying partly to the north, which appears to have remained in use up to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. However the full plan and use of this earlier structure have not (as yet) been determined.

The discovery of two drains constructed in the fifteenth century and feeding the main drain provide evidence of further structures lying beyond the current excavations.

A wide range of finds have been made, particularly pottery which ranges in date from the early thirteenth to the early sixteenth century. A feature of the pottery is the relatively large quantity of non-local types present. Over twenty coarseware vessels of Midlands origin and two Midlands-type tripod pitchers have been recognised. In addition a wide variety of non-local finewares are present including vessels from other parts of the historic county of Yorkshire, northern Hampshire, the Reading/Newbury area, Northamptonshire and many whose sources are as yet unidentified. Continental imports include vessels from the Low Countries, northern France and Rhineland stonewares. The large number of non-local English products is probably explained by the Guest House and its precinct having housed Cistercian and other dignitaries and their households when visiting the abbey.

LOCKTON, Oak Crag SE 8489. The Helmsley Archaeological Society reports the find by Mr. G. Clitheroe of a frilled rim sherd of fifteenth or sixteenth-century Stearsby-Pottery House type under the floor of Oak Crag House.

MOSBROUGH, Plumbley Hall. SK 414809. Plumbley Hall was inspected by P. F. Ryder of SYCAS. The Hall formerly consisted of a hall-and-cross-wings house. Much of the lengthy west wing was demolished *c.*1960 after lying derelict for some years. The present Plumbley Hall consists of the hall block and east wing of the old house, neither of which has any exposed feature of pre-seventeenth-century date. The separate Plumbley House incorporates the north end of the former west wing, a structure of late fourteenth or fifteenth-century date. This appears to have been stone construction at ground floor level and timber-framed above. Remains of two original trusses survive, carried on stone moulded corbels at first floor level. The southern truss has been open, with an ovolo moulding on its tie-beam soffit, which has a central block carved with a four-petalled flower. The roof is a later reconstruction.

PONTEFRACT CASTLE SE 460223. Work has been in progress since October 1981 on a three-year programme of archaeological excavation, stonework conservation and more general environmental improvements at the castle, carried out by West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council in association with Wakefield Metropolitan Distrtict Council, the Department of the Environment, the Duchy of Lancaster and the Manpower Services Commission.

Since 1882 the ruins of the castle have been a public park, and much of the medieval fabrics has been covered beneath Victorian and later landscaping and gardening work.

As a result the excavation work was preceded by a period of tree felling, demolition and vegetation clearance.

This work showed that the quality of preservation varied markedly over the site. Within the Kitchen/Bakehouse area, excavations in the 1880s had removed much of the stratigraphy, although a well-preserved cobbled floor of as yet unknown date has been uncovered in one of the rooms. At the other side of the castle the Queen's Tower, the Constable Tower and the later medieval chapel between them appear to possess less disturbed archaeology. A stone structure within the chapel was revealed after initial clearance.

Documentary work and a detailed drawn survey have shown that the traditional sites of both the Queen's Tower and the Constable Tower are incorrect, the former lying further east and the latter further west of their assumed sites. The Constable Tower is currently being emptied of demolition rubble down to its intact foundations.

Geophysical survey of the lawn in the castle interior has indicated the extent of the nave of the Norman chapel, suggested another possible building site and hinted that there may have been an original ditch, now filled in, around the Keep.

Excavations will concentrate throughout 1982 on the Kitchen/Bakehouse area, the Norman and later medieval chapels, the Queen's Tower and the Constable Tower. Landscaping is in progress on the platform in front of the Keep mound and material from the excavations is being redeposited outside the curtain wall near the Keep to re-establish the medieval ground level.

SPROTBOROUGH St. Mary's Church. SE 540026. The church was inspected by P. F. Ryder of SYCAS. A number of previously unrecorded medieval cross slab grave covers of late twelfth and thirteenth-century date were found built into the late fifteenth-century tower stair. These were measured and drawn, the drawings being lodged with the County Ancient Monuments and Sites Record.

STILLINGFLEET, MOREBY WOOD (SE 611419) H. G. Ramm reports that brick, roofing slabs, late medieval pottery and cobble occur on the surface of a ploughed field north of the wood.

THORNHILL PARISH CHURCH (SE 360957) J. A. Gilks, for Kirklees Libraries and Museums Service, undertook in advance of drainage operations a rescue excavation to the north of St. Michael's Church, Thornhill. Five stratified, but largely incomplete, inhumations were found in the upper fill of a large (?) grain-roasting oven (3 m in diameter and sunk 1 m into undisturbed clay). Evidence of a raised floor was attested by the findings, in the bottom of the oven, of medium-to-large lumps of well fired clay with regularly spaced circular perforations (10 to 25 mm in diameter). On the south side a sandstone slab built flue of trapezoidal section was partly examined. Three fragments of pottery, two of almost certainly twelfth-century date, occurred beneath the deepest burial. Finds in the Tolson Memorial Museum.

THORPE COMMON, NETHERFOLD FARMHOUSE. SK 384952
This three-bay post-and-truss house, recorded previously by SYCAS, has been dated to 1494/5 by dendrochronological analysis (Miss J. Hillam, University of Sheffield) of the first-floor beams from the eastern (service) bay. This dating is especially useful as the house is one of a group in South Yorkshire having collar rafted roofs with side purlins and half-hipped ends. Alterations in the west bay disclosed the original ladder stair, surviving beneath its nineteenth-century successor. This has now been restored and is again in use.

WHARRAM PERCY SE 858 642 J. G. Hurst and P. A. Rahtz of the Medieval Village Research Group, the Department of the Environment and the University of York, present their 1981 summary. The 32nd season of the Research Project was mainly concerned with problems of continuity in the North Manor and Toft 10, the west boundary in Croft 8, the eighteenth-century farmbuildings, the post-medieval vicarage and the sequence of Saxon dams. The survey of Wharram Percy and Wharram le Street parishes continues.

1. On the NORTH MANOR the twelfth century south boundary overlay an earlier hollow way. Nearby was a major Roman structure.
2. In TOFT 10 a medieval smithy was found overlying Saxon deposits.
3. In CROFT 8 a road, ditches and prehistoric features were excavated.
4. In LOWHOUSE COURTYARD the eighteenth-century farm-buildings along the eastern side was defined.
5. On GLEBE NORTH the eighteenth/nineteenth-century vicarage was finally excavated.
6. On the DAM SITE the silts, clay-bank dams and underlying wattles were excavated.

Woodall, 4 Walsekar Lane. SK 483808. A previously unrecorded medieval hall house was surveyed and recorded by P. F. Ryder (SYCAS) and S. R. Jones (Shefield City Polytechnic). The house is of four bays, the central two having formed an open hall. An intact crown-post roof survives, with a hipped end above the east (solar?) bay. This has obviously been a building of considerable status, but so far documentary work has shed little light on its origin. An eighteenth-century enclosure map gives the field names 'Hall Leys' and 'Hall Ings' in the vicinity of the building: thus it seems possible that the house represents the medieval 'Wood Hall' of the place name.

Worsbrough, Elmhirst Farmhouse. SE 35130467. Alterations to this house, externally of eighteenth-century appearance, disclosed a cruck truss, perhaps of late medieval date, encased in a partition wall. This was photographed and recorded by P. F. Ryder (SYCAS).

York The work of the York Archaeological Trust has continued on a number of sites.

16-22 Coppergate SE 6042 5168.
In the period January—September 23 1981, when the excavation ceased after 5¼ years continuous work, efforts were concentrated on examining an inverted L-shaped strip up the long axis and across the street frontage of the site: a grant from the British Academy also allowed further examination of the tenements where coin production took place *c.*900-950.

The rear parts of early tenth-century wattlework buildings were found in all tenements: well preserved by the moist soils, a complex series of rebuildings and patchings could be traced in each. More metalworking debris in the form of crucibles, slags, etc. was found, and an iron coin die-head of Athelstan (927-39 in York).

The tenements were found to have been laid out *c.*900: in the preceding 50 years there had been some activity on the site, evidenced in the form of pits, fence-lines a glass-furnance and occasional casual burials. There was no evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation.

More of the large but mainly robbed Roman stone buildings first uncovered in 1980 was exposed, and to the west of it a series of gullies and trenches representing a sequence of timber and stone Roman buildings which lasted well into the fourth century. Complete plans were not, however, recovered. Adjacent was a small later Roman cemetery, from which five inhumations (four in coffins) on varying alignments, a cremation and a stone finial from a mausoleum was recovered. Coins in two burials suggest a third-fourth-century date, and one of the graves contained two pairs of hob-nailed shoes. Beyond the area of graves in the NW corner of the site, three parallel trenches represented the foundation for a late first-early second-century timber building. (R. A. Hall, Site Director).

Castle Garage SE 604 515
After the removal of 2 metres of modern levelling and 1 metre of post-medieval deposits a large ditch was located which ran north east-south west across the site. A section 3 metres wide was dug across the width of it. Small areas to the north east and south west of the ditch were also examined.

The earliest was possibly V-shaped but it had been massively recut by a flat bottomed ditch approximately 20 metres wide and 5 metres deep. This ditch is eleventh or twelfth century and must represent part of the defences of York Castle whose motte lies immediately to the south-east of the site. It would therefore, have enclosed a bailey or barbican outside the Castle's north gate. The earliest fill layers were clean waterlaid silts and organic material suggesting alternating periods of running water and stagnancy. By the middle of the thirteenth century the ditch had begun to fill up with silts containing much organic material and domestic refuse. In the mid-thirteenth century approximately 2 metres wide and 1 metre deep was dug through the fill of the main ditch on an east-west alignment. Its function is unclear.

It is known that in 1268 the Franciscan Friars received the Royal grant of a ditch to the east of their precinct. The ditch in question is presumably that located in the excavation. By the mid-fourteenth century the ditch had been completely infilled with material containing much domestic rubbish. A number of gullies and drains were also found suggesting that the ditch was used as an area into which water and sewerage were drained. To the north-west and south-east of the ditch Friary period rubbish pits were found.

There was no evidence for occupation in the Roman or early medieval periods. This may be because there was major ground clearance in the area, either when the Friars acquired the site and constructed their bank, or when the Norman castle was built.

After the Friary's dissolution in 1538 the site remained open ground until the late 18th century when the Tower Street and Castlegate Frontages were built up. A number of trenches of eighteenth-century date were excavated, probably deriving from gardening activities. (P. J. Ottaway, Site Director).

POST-MEDIEVAL

Easington, Boulby Alum Works. NZ 762 190
Work was carried out by the Guisborough and District Archaeology Society. S. K. Chapman reports that in the extreme south-west corner of the alum processing area next to a stone liquor trough, a sandstone chamber was cleared. This has three fine ashlar walls with an arched opening in the south-east face. This arch forms the

ceiling inside the structure and has a 640 x 590 mm rectangular opening in the centre; 2050 mm below this opening is a sandstone slab floor measuring 2550 x 2450 mm.

The infill of the chamber contained about 600 mm of nineteenth/twentieth-century pottery and glass in large quantities, also some eighteenth century bricks.

However, coal dust traces at floor level proved this to have been the coal storage chamber for the eighteenth-century processing plant. The coal came by sea from County Durham and was used for boiling the alum liquor prior to crystalising.

ECCLESFIELD, CHARLTONBROOK FARM. SK3396 9665
A timber-framed barn, currently being converted into a dwelling house, was inspected and photographed by P. F. Ryder (SYCAS). The building had originally been of three bays, the eastern removed when the present farmhouse was built early in the eighteenth century. The walls have been of stone to mid-height, and the roof of a simple principal rafter type, features pointing to a date relatively late in the local timber-framing tradition, perhaps in the mid-seventeenth century.

HARTHILL, 70 UNION STREET. SK 49388073. A house recorded by P. F. Ryder has evidence of quite a complex building history. The original building seems to have been a sixteenth-century cottage of one-and-a-half bays, timber-framed with a stone half-bay at the west end containing the hearth. The cottage was later enlarged by the addition of a structurally separate framed bay at the east end, providing the house with a parlour and a first-floor chamber. In the mid-seventeenth century the whole house was remodelled in stone. One timber-framed window and some simple panelling survive from this phase. In the nineteenth century the building was divided up into a cottage and a clog maker's workshop.

WALES, HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE SK 4780 8295. A two-bay timber-framed house was recorded by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones (Sheffield City Polytechnic). The walls were of stone construction to first floor level, and timber-framed above, and the roof of a simple principal rafter type. The principle ground-floor room, the 'house place' was in the western bay and served by a firehood set against a stone wall, on the line of the central truss. The original entrance was in the south wall, alongside the hearth. The building was remodelled in stone and the firehood replaced by a stone stack, in the eighteenth century. The original timber-framed house is probably of seventeenth-century date.

WORSBOROUGH, ROCKLEY FURNACE. SE 338 021. D. W. Crossley continued excavations for Sheffield Trades Historical Society and DoE at the blast furnace built in 1652. The first stage of establishing the alignment of the head-leat supplying the water-wheel for the bellows was completed, and investigation of the perimeter of the furnace enclosure was continued. Work will continue in 1982.

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R. M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, The White House, Clifton, York, from whom lists of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors.

THE TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY ARE:

Life Members	£180
Individual Members	£10·00
Institutional and Family Members	£12·00
Associate and Junior Members	£4·00

Subscriptions, which are due on 1st January, should be paid to the Hon. Treasurer, Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds LS2 9NZ, or through the subscriber's banker, entitle the member to a copy of the *Journal* for the current year.

Further information can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds LS2 9NZ.

The sale of back numbers of the Society's publications is no longer dealt with by William Dawson & Sons Ltd. Pending the appointment of a new agent, orders should be placed with the **Librarian** at **Claremont, Clarendon Road, Leeds LS2 9NZ.** Prices are as follows.

YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL	**Vols. 1-42 £2·50 per part** **Vols. 43-46 £5·00 per vol.** **Vols. 47-53 £7·50 per vol.**
Y.A.S. RECORD SERIES	**£12·00 per volume**
EARLY YORKSHIRE CHARTERS	**£18·00 per volume**
Y.A.S. PARISH REGISTER SERIES	**Vols. 1-136 £10·00 or £12·00 per volume (depending on size)** **Vol. 137 onwards £12·00 per vol.**
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF MALTON AND NORTON	**£2·50**
RUDSTON ROMAN VILLA by Dr. I. M. Stead	**£8·50**

Members who ORDER THROUGH THE SOCIETY are entitled to a 25% reduction in the price of volumes in the series to which they subscribe.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

RECORD SERIES	**£10·00**
PARISH REGISTER SERIES	**£10·00**
WAKEFIELD COURT ROLLS SERIES	**£8.50**
PREHISTORY RESEARCH SECTION	**£1·50**
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES SECTION	**£1·00**
MEDIEVAL SECTION	**£1·00**
GEORGIAN SECTION	**£1·50**
LOCAL HISTORY STUDY SECTION	**£1·00**
INDUSTRIAL HISTORY SECTION	**£1·25**
FAMILY HISTORY AND POPULATION STUDIES SECTION	**£2·50**

Members of Sections who are not members of the Society pay an additional £2.
The above subscription rates apply for 1983.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
ARTHUR WIGLEY & SONS LTD.
1982

CONTENTS OF VOLUME 54

page

EXCAVATION OF THE STREET HOUSE FARM LONG CAIRN, BOULBY, CLEVELAND . 1
RICHARD C. BARCHAM

EXCAVATION AT THE CURSUS AT SCORTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE, 1978 7
PETER TOPPING

TWO BRONZE AGE COLLARED URNS FROM THE HAMBLETON HILLS, NORTH YORKSHIRE 23
RAYMOND A. VARLEY

THE CLEAVE DYKE SYSTEM 33
D. A. SPRATT

THE MALTON BURNT GRAIN: A CAUTIONARY TALE 53
P. C. BUCKLAND

IRREGULAR VILLAGES IN HOLDERNESS, YORKSHIRE: SOME THOUGHTS ON THEIR ORIGIN 63
MARY HARVEY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIEVAL RIPON 73
WILLIAM MACKAY

NEW HALL, DARFIELD 81
J. BIRCH AND P. F. RYDER

HENRY JOHNSTON AND THE MISSING LADY OF GAWTHORPE HALL 99
PAULINE E. SHEPPARD ROUTH

HEDGEROWS IN WEST YORKSHIRE — THE HOOPER METHOD EXAMINED 103
JOHN HALL

SOME EVIDENCE OF SURVIVING OPEN FIELDS IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PENNINE DALES AND THE GRADUAL ELIMINATION OF COMMUNAL AGRICULTURE 111
ROGER FIELDHOUSE

YORKSHIRE AND THE AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION, 1730–1750 119
J. V. BECKETT

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CENSUS: WETHERBY 1776 125
ROBERT UNWIN

SOME NOTES ON THE SIZE OF FIELDS AFTER ENCLOSURE 141
W. HARWOOD LONG

OBITUARY: PROFESSOR JOHN LE PATOUREL, F.B.A. 149

ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND PLANNING: A REVIEW ARTICLE 153
PHILIP RAHTZ

BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES 157

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER: 1981 169